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WILLIAM B. ELLIOTT

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VOL. II

PHILADELPHIA AND LONDON

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THE ASSASSINATION OF FRANCISCO PIZARRO

See Vol. III., page 15

Montezuma Edition

HISTORY OF THE
Conquest of Peru

BY
WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT

EDITED BY
WILFRED HAROLD MUNRO
PROFESSOR OF EUROPEAN HISTORY IN BROWN UNIVERSITY

AND COMPRISING THE NOTES OF THE EDITION BY
JOHN FOSTER KIRK

*Congestæ cumulantur opes, orbisque rapinas
Accipit.*

CLAUDIAN, *In Ruf.*, lib. i. v. 194

*So color de religion
Van á buscar plata y oro
Del encubierto tesoro.*

LOPEZ DE VEGA, *El Nuevo Mundo*, Jorn. 1

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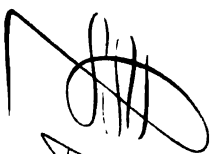
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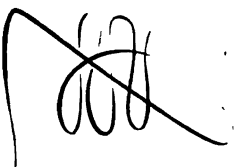
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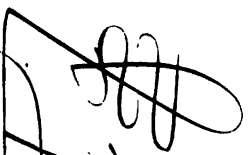
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BOOK III
CONQUEST OF PERU

FAC SIMILE OF TWO SIGNATURES OF FRANCISCO PIZARRO.


Francisco
Pizarro




Francisco
Pizarro

In the above signatures the PIZARRO is underlined by the writer, having the (PIZARRO) or derivation of the ending of the name being the only part made by himself, as he did not know how to write. The second signature (EL MERO PIZARRO) was used by him after his conversion to the christianity. (Mayra)

For Records, Library of the Congress of Lima.

CONQUEST OF PERU

CHAPTER I

PIZARRO'S RECEPTION AT COURT — HIS CAPITULATION WITH THE CROWN — HE VISITS HIS BIRTHPLACE — RETURNS TO THE NEW WORLD — DIFFICULTIES WITH ALMAGRO — HIS THIRD EXPEDITION — ADVENTURES ON THE COAST — BATTLES IN THE ISLE OF PUNÁ

1528-1531

PIZARRO and his officer, having crossed the Isthmus, embarked at Nombre de Dios for the old country, and, after a good passage, reached Seville early in the summer of 1528. There happened to be at that time in port a person well known in the history of Spanish adventure as the Bachelor Enciso. He had taken an active part in the colonization of Tierra Firme, and had a pecuniary claim against the early colonists of Darien, of whom Pizarro was one. Immediately on the landing of the latter, he was seized by Enciso's orders and held in custody for the debt. Pizarro, who had fled from his native land as a forlorn and houseless adventurer, after an absence of more than twenty years, passed, most of them, in unprecedented toil and suffering, now found himself on his return the inmate of a prison.

Such was the commencement of those brilliant fortunes which, as he had trusted, awaited him at home. The circumstance excited general indignation; and no sooner was the court advised of his arrival in the country, and the great purpose of his mission, than orders were sent for his release, with permission to proceed at once on his journey.

Pizarro found the emperor at Toledo, which he was soon to quit, in order to embark for Italy. Spain was not the favorite residence of Charles the Fifth in the earlier part of his reign. He was now at that period of it when he was enjoying the full flush of his triumphs over his gallant rival of France, whom he had defeated and taken prisoner at the great battle of Pavia; and the victor was at this moment preparing to pass into Italy to receive the imperial crown from the hands of the Roman Pontiff. Elated by his successes and his elevation to the German throne, Charles made little account of his hereditary kingdom, as his ambition found so splendid a career thrown open to it on the wide field of European politics. He had hitherto received too inconsiderable returns from his transatlantic possessions to give them the attention they deserved. But, as the recent acquisition of Mexico and the brilliant anticipations in respect to the southern continent were pressed upon his notice, he felt their importance as likely to afford him the means of prosecuting his ambitious and most expensive enterprises.

Pizarro, therefore, who had now come to satisfy the royal eyes, by visible proofs, of the truth of

the golden rumors which from time to time had reached Castile, was graciously received by the emperor. Charles examined the various objects which his officer exhibited to him with great attention. He was particularly interested by the appearance of the llama, so remarkable as the only beast of burden yet known on the new continent; and the fine fabrics of woollen cloth which were made from its shaggy sides gave it a much higher value, in the eyes of the sagacious monarch, than what it possessed as an animal for domestic labor. But the specimens of gold and silver manufacture, and the wonderful tale which Pizarro had to tell of the abundance of the precious metals, must have satisfied even the cravings of royal cupidity.

Pizarro, far from being embarrassed by the novelty of his situation, maintained his usual self-possession, and showed that decorum and even dignity in his address which belong to the Castilian. He spoke in a simple and respectful style, but with the earnestness and natural eloquence of one who had been an actor in the scenes he described, and who was conscious that the impression he made on his audience was to decide his future destiny. All listened with eagerness to the account of his strange adventures by sea and land, his wanderings in the forests, or in the dismal and pestilent swamps on the sea-coast, without food, almost without raiment, with feet torn and bleeding at every step, with his few companions becoming still fewer by disease and death, and yet pressing on with unconquerable spirit to extend the empire of Castile and the name and power of

her sovereign; but when he painted his lonely condition on the desolate island, abandoned by the government at home, deserted by all but a handful of devoted followers, his royal auditor, though not easily moved, was affected to tears. On his departure from Toledo, Charles commended the affairs of his vassal in the most favorable terms to the consideration of the Council of the Indies.¹

There was at this time another man at court, who had come there on a similar errand from the New World, but whose splendid achievements had already won for him a name that threw the rising reputation of Pizarro comparatively into the shade. This man was Hernando Cortés, the Conqueror of Mexico. He had come home to lay an empire at the feet of his sovereign, and to demand in return the redress of his wrongs and the recompense of his great services. He was at the close of his career, as Pizarro was at the commencement of his; the Conqueror of the North and of the South; the two men appointed by Providence to overturn the most potent of the Indian dynasties, and to open the golden gates by which the treasures of the New World were to pass into the coffers of Spain.

Notwithstanding the emperor's recommendation, the business of Pizarro went forward at

¹ Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—Naharro, *Relacion sumaria*, MS.—*Conq. i Pob. del Piru*, MS.—“Hablaba tan bien en la materia, que se llevó los aplausos y atencion en Toledo donde el Emperador estaba, dióle audiencia con mucho gusto, tratolo amoroso, y oyole tierno, especialmente quando le hizo relacion de su consistencia y de los trece compañeros en la Isla en medio de tantos trabajos.” Montesinos, *Annales*, MS., año 1528.

the tardy pace with which affairs are usually conducted in the court of Castile. He found his limited means gradually sinking under the expenses incurred by his present situation, and he represented that unless some measures were speedily taken in reference to his suit, however favorable they might be in the end, he should be in no condition to profit by them. The queen, accordingly, who had charge of the business, on her husband's departure, expedited the affair, and on the twenty-sixth of July, 1529, she executed the memorable *Capitulation* which defined the powers and privileges of Pizarro.*

The instrument secured to that chief the right of discovery and conquest in the province of Peru, or New Castile,—as the country was then called, in the same manner as Mexico had received the name of New Spain,—for the distance of two hundred leagues south of Santiago. He was to receive the titles and rank of Governor and Captain-General of the province, together with those of Adelantado and Alguacil Mayor, for life; and he was to have a salary of seven hundred and twenty-five thousand maravedis, with the obligation of maintaining certain officers and military retainers, corresponding with the dignity of his station. He was to have the right to erect certain fortresses, with the absolute government of them;

* [There seems to be in this sentence a confusion of two distinct personages. On leaving Spain in 1529, Charles intrusted the government to his wife, the *Empress* Isabella, who therefore "had charge of the business" referred to, and may have "expedited the affair." But "the queen" in whose name the agreement with Pizarro was "executed" was the unfortunate Juana, Charles's mother.—K.]

to assign *encomiendas* of Indians, under the limitation prescribed by law; and, in fine, to exercise nearly all the prerogatives incident to the authority of a viceroy.

His associate, Almagro, was declared commander of the fortress of Tumbez, with an annual rent of three hundred thousand maravedis, and with the further rank and privileges of an hidalgo. The reverend Father Luque received the reward of his services in the bishopric of Tumbez, and he was also declared Protector of the Indians of Peru. He was to enjoy the yearly stipend of a thousand ducats,—to be derived, like the other salaries and gratuities in this instrument, from the revenues of the conquered territory.

Nor were the subordinate actors in the expedition forgotten. Ruiz received the title of Grand Pilot of the Southern Ocean, with a liberal provision; Candia was placed at the head of the artillery; and the remaining eleven companions on the desolate island were created hidalgos and cavalleros, and raised to certain municipal dignities,—in prospect.*

* [Mr. Markham, after quoting this clause of the instrument, which contains the list of names before cited as those of the men who elected to remain with Pizarro at the island of Gallo, instead of returning to Panamá (vol. i. p. 280, note 3), observes, "It has always been supposed that these were the men who crossed the line, and hence their number has been placed at thirteen. But it is not asserted in the Capitulation that the men whose names are given in it were those who crossed the line, and it might be that Pizarro, in asking favors for his most faithful companions, on the one hand omitted one or more of those who crossed the line, and on the other included some who did not take part in that transaction, but who joined him afterwards." Proceeding on this supposition, he rejects the accounts of Cieza de Leon, Gomara, Herrera, and Garcilasso, who all concur in

Several provisions of a liberal tenor were also made, to encourage emigration to the country.

fixing the number of those who remained at Gallo at thirteen, and accepts instead the statement of Francisco de Xerez, afterwards secretary of Pizarro, who, in a brief mention of the affair, gives the number at sixteen. (Reports on the Discovery of Peru, p. 8, note.) But had Mr. Markham been at the pains to read the whole of the document on whose assumed silence in regard to the point in question his argument is chiefly based, he would probably have refrained from contradicting the general mass of contemporary authorities, as well as the modern writers who have conformed to them. The preamble to the Capitulation, reciting the services and enterprises for which Pizarro and his companions were to be rewarded, says expressly that on account of the dangers and toils of the voyage he was deserted on an uninhabited island by all the people that had gone with him, except *thirteen alone*, who chose to remain with him. ("Donde pasastes muchos peligros e trabajo, á causa de lo cual os dejó toda la gente que con vos iba en una isla despoblada con solos trece hombres que no vos quisieron dejar.") This settles the *number* of the faithful few on the authority of Pizarro himself, and accounts for the fact that the subsequent clause, enumerating their *names*, mentions only in a general way "the great service they had rendered in the said voyage and discovery."

It should perhaps be mentioned that Sir Arthur Helps makes the number fourteen, without citing his authority, and rejects the common version of the story of "crossing the line," as an example of "the invincible passion for melodramatic representation which people of second-rate imagination delight in,—those especially who have not seen much of human affairs, and who do not know in how plain and unpretending a manner the greatest things are, for the most part, transacted." (The Spanish Conquest in America, Am. ed., vol. iii. p. 409.) It may be admitted that there are many people of second-rate, or even third- or fourth-rate, imagination, who have employed themselves either in amplifying or simplifying the events of history; but without holding any official position, one may have seen enough of "human affairs" to believe that neither the greatest nor the smallest things are always transacted with the extreme quietude and gentleness that accord with the tone of an idyllic historian. In regard to this particular affair, Sir Arthur Helps relies on what he calls the "simple story" told by Herrera, according to whom it was Tafur who drew the line, and who makes no mention of Pizarro's speech. Garcilasso, on the other hand, gives exactly the same relation as Montesinos, whom Prescott has followed; and we can feel little difficulty in agreeing with Mr. Markham that "of these two accounts [Herrera's and Garcilasso's] that of Garcilasso is far more likely to be true."—K.]

The new settlers were to be exempted from some of the most onerous but customary taxes, as the *alcabala*, or to be subject to them only in a mitigated form. The tax on the precious metals drawn from mines was to be reduced, at first, to one-tenth, instead of the fifth imposed on the same metals when obtained by barter or by rapine.

It was expressly enjoined on Pizarro to observe the existing regulations for the good government and protection of the natives; and he was required to carry out with him a specified number of ecclesiastics, with whom he was to take counsel in the conquest of the country, and whose efforts were to be dedicated to the service and conversion of the Indians; while lawyers and attorneys, on the other hand, whose presence was considered as boding ill to the harmony of the new settlements, were strictly prohibited from setting foot in them.

Pizarro, on his part, was bound, in six months from the date of the instrument, to raise a force, well equipped for the service, of two hundred and fifty men, of whom one hundred might be drawn from the colonies; and the government engaged to furnish some trifling assistance in the purchase of artillery and military stores. Finally, he was to be prepared, in six months after his return to Panamá, to leave that port and embark on his expedition.²

² This remarkable document, formerly in the archives of Simancas, and now transferred to the *Archivo General de las Indias* in Seville, was transcribed for the rich collection of the late Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, to whose kindness I am indebted for a copy of it. It will be found printed entire, in the original, in Appendix No. 7.

Such are some of the principal provisions of this Capitulation, by which the Castilian government, with the sagacious policy which it usually pursued on the like occasions, stimulated the ambitious hopes of the adventurer by high-sounding titles and liberal promises of reward contingent on his success, but took care to stake nothing itself on the issue of the enterprise. It was careful to reap the fruits of his toil, but not to pay the cost of them.

A circumstance that could not fail to be remarked in these provisions was the manner in which the high and lucrative posts were accumulated on Pizarro, to the exclusion of Almagro, who, if he had not taken as conspicuous a part in personal toil and exposure, had at least divided with him the original burden of the enterprise, and, by his labors in another direction, had contributed quite as essentially to its success. Almagro had willingly conceded the post of honor to his confederate; but it had been stipulated, on Pizarro's departure for Spain, that, while he solicited the office of Governor and Captain-General for himself, he should secure that of Adelantado for his companion. In like manner, he had engaged to apply for the see of Tumbez for the vicar of Panamá, and the office of Alguacil Mayor for the pilot Ruiz. The bishopric took the direction that was concerted, for the soldier could scarcely claim the mitre of the prelate; but the other offices, instead of their appropriate distribution, were all concentrated in himself. Yet it was in reference to his application for his

friends that Pizarro had promised on his departure to deal fairly and honorably by them all.³

It is stated by the military chronicler, Pedro Pizarro, that his kinsman did, in fact, urge the suit strongly in behalf of Almagro, but that he was refused by the government, on the ground that offices of such paramount importance could not be committed to different individuals. The ill effects of such an arrangement had been long since felt in more than one of the Indian colonies, where it had led to rivalry and fatal collision.⁴ Pizarro, therefore, finding his remonstrances unheeded, had no alternative but to combine the offices in his own person, or to see the expedition fall to the ground. This explanation of the affair has not received the sanction of other contemporary historians. The apprehensions expressed by Luque, at the time of Pizarro's assuming the mission, of some such result as actually occurred, founded, doubtless, on a knowledge of his associate's character, may warrant us in dis-

³ "Al fin se capituló, que Francisco Pizarro negociase la Governacion para si: i para Diego de Almagro, el Adelantamiento: i para Hernando de Luque, el Obispado: i para Bartolomé Ruiz, el Alguacilazgo Maior: i Mercedes para los que quedaban vivos, de los trece Compañeros, afirmando siempre Francisco Pizarro, que todo lo quería para ellos, i prometiendo, que negociaría lealmente, i sin ninguna cautela." Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 4, lib. cap. 1.

⁴ "Y don Francisco Pizarro pidió conforme á lo que llevaba capitulado y bordenado con sus compañeros ya dicho, y en el consejo se le respondió que no avia lugar de dar governacion á dos compañeros, á caussa de que en santa marta se avia dado así á dos compañeros y el uno avia muerto al otro. . . . Pues pedido, como digo, muchas vezes por don Francisco Pizarro se les hiziese la merced á ambos compañeros, se le respondió la pidiese parassi sino que se daría á otro, y visto que no avia lugar lo que pedia y quería pedio se le hiziese la merced á el, y así se le hizo." Descub. y Conq., MS.

trusting the alleged vindication of his conduct; and our distrust will not be diminished by familiarity with his subsequent career. Pizarro's virtue was not of a kind to withstand temptation,—though of a much weaker sort than that now thrown in his path.

The fortunate cavalier was also honored with the habit of St. Jago;⁵ and he was authorized to make an important innovation in his family escutcheon,—for by the father's side he might claim his armorial bearings. The black eagle and the two pillars emblazoned on the royal arms were incorporated with those of the Pizarros; and an Indian city, with a vessel in the distance on the waters, and the llama of Peru, revealed the theatre and the character of his exploits; while the legend announced that “under the auspices of Charles, and by the industry, the genius, and the resources of Pizarro, the country had been discovered and reduced to tranquillity,”—thus modestly intimating both the past and prospective services of the Conqueror.⁶

These arrangements having been thus completed to Pizarro's satisfaction, he left Toledo for Truxillo, his native place, in Estremadura, where he thought he should be most likely to meet with adherents for his new enterprise, and where it doubtless gratified his vanity to display himself

⁵ Xerez, Conq. del Peru, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 182.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Indias, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 1.—Caro de Torres, Historia de las Ordenes militares (ed. Madrid, 1639), p. 113.

⁶ “Caroli Caesaris auspicio, et labore, ingenio, ac impensa Ducis Pizarro inventa, et pacata.” Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 4, lib. 6, cap. 5.

in the palmy, or at least promising, state of his present circumstances. If vanity be ever pardonable, it is certainly in a man who, born in an obscure station in life, without family, interest, or friends to back him, has carved out his own fortunes in the world, and, by his own resources, triumphed over all the obstacles which nature and accident had thrown in his way. Such was the condition of Pizarro as he now revisited the place of his nativity, where he had hitherto been known only as a poor outcast, without a home to shelter, a father to own him, or a friend to lean upon. But he now found both friends and followers, and some who were eager to claim kindred with him and take part in his future fortunes. Among these were four brothers. Three of them, like himself, were illegitimate,—one of whom, named Francisco Martin de Alcántara, was related to him by the mother's side, the other two, named Gonzalo and Juan Pizarro, were descended from the father. "They were all poor, and proud as they were poor," says Oviedo, who had seen them; "and their eagerness for gain was in proportion to their poverty."¹

The remaining and eldest brother, named Hernando, was a legitimate son,—“legitimate,” continues the same caustic authority, “by his pride, as well as by his birth.” His features were plain, even disagreeably so; but his figure was good. He was large of stature, and, like his brother

¹ “Trujo tres o cuatro hermanos suyos tan soberbios como pobres, é tan sin hacienda como deseosos de alcanzarla.” *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 1.

Francis, had on the whole an imposing presence.⁸ In his character he combined some of the worst defects incident to the Castilian. He was jealous in the extreme; impatient, not merely of affront, but of the least slight, and implacable in his resentment. He was decisive in his measures, and unscrupulous in their execution. No touch of pity had power to arrest his arm. His arrogance was such that he was constantly wounding the self-love of those with whom he acted; thus begetting an ill will which unnecessarily multiplied obstacles in his path. In this he differed from his brother Francis, whose plausible manners smoothed away difficulties and conciliated confidence and co-operation in his enterprises. Unfortunately, the evil counsels of Hernando exercised an influence over his brother which more than compensated the advantages derived from his singular capacity for business.

Notwithstanding the general interest which Pizarro's adventures excited in this country, that chief did not find it easy to comply with the provisions of the Capitulation in respect to the amount of his levies. Those who were most astonished by his narrative were not always most inclined to take part in his fortunes. They shrank from the unparalleled hardships which lay

⁸ Oviedo's portrait of him is by no means flattering. He writes like one too familiar with the original. "É de todos ellos el Hernando Pizarro solo era legitimo, é mas legitimado en la soberbia, hombre de alta estatura é grueso, la lengua é labios gordos, é la punta de la nariz con sobrada carne é encendida, y este fue el desavenidor y estorbador del sosiego de todos y en especial de los dos viejos compañeros Francisco Pizarro é Diego de Almagro." *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., ubi supra.

in the path of the adventurer in that direction; and they listened with visible distrust to the gorgeous pictures of the golden temples and gardens of Tumbez, which they looked upon as indebted in some degree, at least, to the coloring of his fancy, with the obvious purpose of attracting followers to his banners. It is even said that Pizarro would have found it difficult to raise the necessary funds, but for the seasonable aid of Cortés, a native of Estremadura like himself, his companion in arms in early days, and, according to report, his kinsman.⁹ No one was in a better condition to hold out a helping hand to a brother adventurer, and probably no one felt greater sympathy in Pizarro's fortunes, or greater confidence in his eventual success, than the man who had so lately trod the same career with renown.

The six months allowed by the Capitulation had elapsed, and Pizarro had assembled somewhat less than his stipulated complement of men, with which he was preparing to embark in a little squadron of three vessels at Seville; but before they were wholly ready he received intelligence that the officers of the Council of the Indies proposed to inquire into the condition of the vessels and ascertain how far the requisitions had been complied with.

Without loss of time, therefore, Pizarro, afraid, if the facts were known, that his enterprise might be nipped in the bud, slipped his cables, and, crossing the bar of San Lucar, in January, 1580, stood for the isle of Gomera,—one of the Canaries,—

⁹ Pizarro y Orellana, *Varones ilustres*, p. 143.

where he ordered his brother Hernando, who had charge of the remaining vessels, to meet him.

Scarcely had he gone, before the officers arrived to institute the search. But when they objected the deficiency of men they were easily—perhaps willingly—deceived by the pretext that the remainder had gone forward in the vessel with Pizarro. At all events, no further obstacles were thrown in Hernando's way, and he was permitted, with the rest of the squadron, to join his brother, according to agreement, at Gomera.

After a prosperous voyage, the adventurers reached the northern coast of the great southern continent, and anchored off the port of Santa Marta. Here they received such discouraging reports of the countries to which they were bound, of forests teeming with insects and venomous serpents, of huge alligators that swarmed on the banks of the streams, and of hardships and perils such as their own fears had never painted, that several of Pizarro's men deserted, and their leader, thinking it no longer safe to abide in such treacherous quarters, set sail at once for Nombre de Dios.

Soon after his arrival there, he was met by his two associates, Luque and Almagro, who had crossed the mountains for the purpose of hearing from his own lips the precise import of the Capitulation with the crown. Great, as might have been expected, was Almagro's discontent at learning the result of what he regarded as the perfidious machinations of his associate. "Is it thus," he exclaimed, "that you have dealt with the friend

who shared equally with you in the trials, the dangers, and the cost of the enterprise, and this, notwithstanding your solemn engagements on your departure to provide for his interests as faithfully as your own? How could you allow me to be thus dishonored in the eyes of the world by so paltry a compensation, which seems to estimate my services as nothing in comparison with your own?"¹⁰

Pizarro, in reply, assured his companion that he had faithfully urged his suit, but that the government refused to confide powers which intrenched so closely on one another to different hands. He had no alternative but to accept all himself or to decline all; and he endeavored to mitigate Almagro's displeasure by representing that the country was large enough for the ambition of both, and that the powers conferred on himself were, in fact, conferred on Almagro, since all that he had would ever be at his friend's disposal, as if it were his own. But these honeyed words did not satisfy the injured party; and the two captains soon after returned to Panamá with feelings of estrangement, if not hostility, towards one another, which did not augur well for their enterprise.

Still, Almagro was of a generous temper, and might have been appeased by the politic concessions of his rival, but for the interference of Hernando Pizarro, who, from the first hour of their meeting, showed little respect for the vet-

¹⁰ Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 4, lib. 7, cap. 9.—Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.

eran, which, indeed, the diminutive person of the latter was not calculated to inspire, and who now regarded him with particular aversion as an impediment to the career of his brother.

Almagro's friends—and his frank and liberal manners had secured him many—were no less disgusted than himself with the overbearing conduct of this new ally. They loudly complained that it was quite enough to suffer from the perfidy of Pizarro, without being exposed to the insults of his family, who had now come over with him to fatten on the spoils of conquest which belonged to their leader. The rupture soon proceeded to such a length that Almagro avowed his intention to prosecute the expedition without further co-operation with his partner, and actually entered into negotiations for the purchase of vessels for that object. But Luque, and the Licentiate Espinosa, who had fortunately come over at that time from St. Domingo, now interposed to repair a breach which must end in the ruin of the enterprise and the probable destruction of those most interested in its success. By their mediation, a show of reconciliation was at length effected between the parties, on Pizarro's assurance that he would relinquish the dignity of Adelantado in favor of his rival, and petition the emperor to confirm him in the possession of it,—an assurance, it may be remarked, not easy to reconcile with his former assertion in respect to the avowed policy of the crown in bestowing this office. He was, moreover, to apply for a distinct government for his associate, so soon as he had become master of the country assigned to

himself, and was to solicit no office for either of his own brothers until Almagro had been first provided for. Lastly, the former contract in regard to the division of the spoil into three equal shares between the three original associates was confirmed in the most explicit manner. The reconciliation thus effected among the parties answered the temporary purpose of enabling them to go forward in concert in the expedition. But it was only a thin scar that had healed over the wound, which, deep and rankling within, waited only fresh cause of irritation to break out with a virulence more fatal than ever.¹¹

No time was now lost in preparing for the voyage. It found little encouragement, however, among the colonists of Panamá, who were too familiar with the sufferings on the former expeditions to care to undertake another, even with the rich bribe that was held out to allure them. A few of the old company were content to follow out the adventure to its close; and some additional stragglers were collected from the province of Nicaragua,—a shoot, it may be remarked, from the colony of Panamá. But Pizarro made slender additions to the force brought over with him from

¹¹ Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—Naharro, *Relacion sumaria*, MS.—Montesinos, *Annales*, MS., año 1539.—*Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.—Zarate, *Conq. del Peru*, lib. 1, cap. 3.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 1.—There seems to have been little good will, at bottom, between any of the confederates; for Father Luque wrote to Oviedo that both of his partners had repaid his services with ingratitude: "Padre Luque, compaſero de estos Capitanes, con cuya hacienda hicieron ellos sus hechos, puesto que el uno é el otro se lo pagaron con ingratitud segun á mi me lo escribió el mismo electo de su mano." *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

Spain, though this body was in better condition, and, in respect to arms, ammunition, and equipment generally, was on a much better footing, than his former levies. The whole number did not exceed one hundred and eighty men, with twenty-seven horses for the cavalry. He had provided himself with three vessels, two of them of a good size, to take the place of those which he had been compelled to leave on the opposite side of the Isthmus at Nombre de Dios; an armament small for the conquest of an empire, and far short of that prescribed by the Capitulation with the crown. With this the intrepid chief proposed to commence operations, trusting to his own successes, and the exertions of Almagro, who was to remain behind for the present, to muster reinforcements.¹²

On St. John the Evangelist's day, the banners of the company and the royal standard were consecrated in the cathedral church of Panamá; a sermon was preached before the little army by Fray Juan de Vargas, one of the Dominicans selected by the government for the Peruvian mission; and mass was performed, and the sacrament administered to every soldier previous to his engaging in the crusade against the infidel.¹³ Hav-

¹² The numerical estimates differ, as usual. I conform to the statement of Pizarro's secretary, Xerez, Conq. del Peru, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 182.

¹³ "El qual haviendo hecho bendecir en la Iglesia mayor las banderas i estandarte real día de San Juan Evangelista de dicho año de 1530, i que todos los soldados confesasen i comulgasen en el convento de Nuestra Señora de la Merced, día de los Inocentes en la misa cantada que se celebró con toda solemnidad i sermon que predicó el P. Presente Fr. Juan de Vargas, uno de los 6 religiosos que en cumpli-

ing thus solemnly invoked the blessing of Heaven on the enterprise, Pizarro and his followers went on board their vessels, which rode at anchor in the Bay of Panamá, and early in January, 1581, sallied forth on his third and last expedition for the conquest of Peru.

It was his intention to steer direct for Tumbez, which held out so magnificent a show of treasure on his former voyage. But head-winds and currents, as usual, baffled his purpose, and after a run of thirteen days, much shorter than the period formerly required for the same distance, his little squadron came to anchor in the Bay of St. Matthew, about one degree north; and Pizarro, after consulting with his officers, resolved to disembark his forces and advance along the coast, while the vessels held their course at a convenient distance from the shore.

The march of the troops was severe and painful in the extreme; for the road was constantly intersected by streams, which, swollen by the winter rains, widened at their mouths into spacious estuaries. Pizarro, who had some previous knowledge of the country, acted as guide as well as commander of the expedition. He was ever ready to give aid where it was needed, encouraging his followers to ford or swim the torrents as they best could, and cheering the desponding by his own buoyant and courageous spirit.

At length they reached a thick-settled hamlet, or rather town, in the province of Coaque. The

miento de la obediencia de sus prelados i orden del Emperador pasaban à la conquista." Naharro, Relacion sumaria, MS.

Spaniards rushed on the place, and the inhabitants, without offering resistance, fled in terror to the neighboring forests, leaving their effects—of much greater value than had been anticipated—in the hands of the invaders. “We fell on them, sword in hand,” says one of the Conquerors, with some *naïveté*; “for if we had advised the Indians of our approach we should never have found there such store of gold and precious stones.”¹⁴ The natives, however, according to another authority, stayed voluntarily; “for, as they had done no harm to the white men, they flattered themselves none would be offered to them, but that there would be only an interchange of good offices with the strangers,”¹⁵—an expectation founded, it may be, on the good character which the Spaniards had established for themselves on their preceding visit, but one in which the simple people now found themselves most unpleasantly deceived.

Rushing into the deserted dwellings, the invaders found there, besides stuffs of various kinds, and food most welcome in their famished condition, a large quantity of gold and silver wrought into clumsy ornaments, together with many precious stones; for this was the region of the *esmeraldas*, or emeralds, where that valuable gem was most abundant. One of these jewels, that fell into the hands of Pizarro in this neighborhood, was as large as a pigeon’s egg. Unluckily, his rude fol-

¹⁴ “Pues llegados á este pueblo de Coaque dieron de supito sin savello la gente del porque si estuvieran avisados. No se tomara la cantidad de oro y esmeraldas que en el se tomaron.” Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

¹⁵ Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 4, lib. 7, cap. 9.

lowers did not know the value of their prize; and they broke many of them in pieces by pounding them with hammers.¹⁶ They were led to this extraordinary proceeding, it is said, by one of the Dominican missionaries, Fray Reginaldo de Pedraza, who assured them that this was the way to prove the true emerald, which could not be broken. It was observed that the good father did not subject his own jewels to this wise experiment; but, as the stones, in consequence of it, fell in value, being regarded merely as colored glass, he carried back a considerable store of them to Panamá.¹⁷

The gold and silver ornaments rifled from the dwellings were brought together and deposited in a common heap; when a fifth was deducted for the crown, and Pizarro distributed the remainder in due proportions among the officers and privates of his company. This was the usage invariably observed on the like occasions throughout the Conquest. The invaders had embarked in a common adventure. Their interest was common, and to have allowed every one to plunder on his own account would only have led to insubordination and perpetual broils. All were required, therefore, on pain of death, to contribute whatever they ob-

¹⁶ *Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.—Zarate, *Conq. del Peru*, lib. 1, cap. 4.—“A lo que se ha entendido en las esmeraldas ovo gran hierro y torpedad en algunas Personas por no conoscellas. Aunque quieren decir que algunos que las conocieron las guardaron. Pero finalmente muchos vbieron esmeraldas de mucho valor; vnos las provavan en yunques, dandolas con martillos, diciendo que si hera esmeralda no se quebraria; otros las despreciaban, diciendo que era vidrio.” Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.

¹⁷ Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.* MS.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 4, lib. 7, cap. 9.

tained, whether by bargain or by rapine, to the general stock; and all were too much interested in the execution of the penalty to allow the unhappy culprit who violated the law any chance of escape.¹⁸

Pizarro, with his usual policy, sent back to Panamá a large quantity of the gold, no less than twenty thousand *castellanos* in value, in the belief that the sight of so much treasure, thus speedily acquired, would settle the doubts of the wavering and decide them on joining his banner.¹⁹ He judged right. As one of the Conquerors piously expresses it, "It pleased the Lord that we should fall in with the town of Coaque, that the riches of the land might find credit with the people, and that they should flock to it."²⁰

Pizarro, having refreshed his men, continued his march along the coast, but no longer accompanied

"Los Españoles las rrecoxeron y juntaron el pro y la plata, porque así estava mandado y hordenado sopena de la vida el que otra cosa hiciese, porque todos lo avian de traer á monton para que de allí el governador lo rrepartiese, dando á cada uno confforme á su persona y meritos de servicios; y esta horden se guardo en toda esta tierra en la conquista della, y al que se le hallara oro ó plata escondido muriera por ello, y deste medio nadie oso escondello." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

"The booty was great indeed, if, as Pedro Pizarro, one of the Conquerors present, says, it amounted in value to 900,000 gold castellanos: "Aqui se halló mucha chaquira de oro y de plata, muchas coronas hechas de oro á manera de imperiales, y otras muchas piezas en que se avalue montar mas de dosientos mill castellanos." (Descub. y Conq., MS.) Naharro, Montesinos, and Herrera content themselves with stating that he sent back 90,000 castellanos in the vessels to Panamá.

"Fueron á dar en vn pueblo que se dexa Coaque que fue nuestro Señor servido tapasen con el, porque con lo que en el se halló se acreditó la tierra y vino gente á ella." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

by the vessels, which had returned for recruits to Panamá. The road, as he advanced, was checkered with strips of sandy waste, which, drifted about by the winds, blinded the soldiers, and afforded only treacherous footing for man and beast. The glare was intense; and the rays of a vertical sun beat fiercely on the iron mail and the thick quilted doublets of cotton, till the fainting troops were almost suffocated with the heat. To add to their distresses, a strange epidemic broke out in the little army. It took the form of ulcers, or rather hideous warts of great size, which covered the body, and when lanced, as was the case with some, discharged such a quantity of blood as proved fatal to the sufferer.* Several died of this frightful disorder, which was so sudden in its attack, and attended with such prostration of strength, that those who lay down well at night were unable to lift their hands to their heads in the morning.²¹ The epidemic, which made its first appearance during this invasion, and which did not long survive it, spread over the country, sparing neither native nor white man.²² It was

* Naharro, *Relacion sumaria*, MS.—Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—Montesinos, *Annales*, MS., año 1530.

²² Garcilasso, *Com. Real*, Parte 2, lib. 1, cap. 15.

* [This disease is still active in Peru, affecting especially those who dwell in the neighborhood of the Verrugas viaduct upon the line of the Oroya railway. The streamlet which bears the name of "Agua de Verrugas" flows into the Rimac River about fifty miles above the city of Lima. The writer saw many cases of the disease in 1873 when the Oroya railway was in process of construction. It was called "Verrugas" (warts) and was supposed to be caused by the water of that particular region, as cases were very rarely found elsewhere. At that time physicians were unable to discover any cure for it.—M.]

one of those plagues from the vial of wrath, which the destroying angel, who follows in the path of the conqueror, pours out on the devoted nations.

The Spaniards rarely experienced on their march either resistance or annoyance from the inhabitants, who, instructed by the example of Coaque, fled with their effects into the woods and neighboring mountains. No one came out to welcome the strangers and offer the rites of hospitality, as on their last visit to the land. For the white men were no longer regarded as good beings that had come from heaven, but as ruthless destroyers, who, invulnerable to the assaults of the Indians, were borne along on the backs of fierce animals, swifter than the wind, with weapons in their hands that scattered fire and desolation as they went. Such were the stories now circulated of the invaders, which, preceding them everywhere on their march, closed the hearts, if not the doors, of the natives against them. Exhausted by the fatigue of travel and by disease, and grievously disappointed at the poverty of the land, which now offered no compensation for their toils, the soldiers of Pizarro cursed the hour in which they had enlisted under his standard, and the men of Nicaragua in particular, says the old chronicler, calling to mind their pleasant quarters in their luxurious land, sighed only to return to their Mahometan paradise.²³

²³ " Aunque ellos no ninguno por aver venido, porque como avian dexado el paraíso de mahoma que hera Nicaragua y hallaron la isla alsada y falta de comidas y la mayor parte de la gente enferma y no oro ni plata como atras avian hallado, algunos y todos se holgaran

At this juncture the army was gladdened by the sight of a vessel from Panamá, which brought some supplies, together with the royal treasurer, the *veedor* or inspector, the comptroller, and other high officers appointed by the crown to attend the expedition. They had been left in Spain by Pizarro, in consequence of his abrupt departure from the country; and the Council of the Indies, on learning the circumstance, had sent instructions to Panamá to prevent the sailing of his squadron from that port. But the Spanish government, with more wisdom, countermanded the order, only requiring the functionaries to quicken their own departure and take their place without loss of time in the expedition.

The Spaniards in their march along the coast had now advanced as far as Puerto Viejo. Here they were soon after joined by another small reinforcement of about thirty men, under an officer named Benalcazar, who subsequently rose to high distinction in this service. Many of the followers of Pizarro would now have halted at this spot and established a colony there. But that chief thought more of conquering than of colonizing, at least for the present; and he proposed, as his first step, to get possession of Tumbez, which he regarded as the gate of the Peruvian empire. Continuing his march, therefore, to the shores of what is now called the Gulf of Guayaquil, he arrived off the little island of Puná, lying at no great distance from the Bay of Tumbez. This island, he

de volver de adonde avian venido." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

thought, would afford him a convenient place to encamp until he was prepared to make his descent on the Indian city.

The dispositions of the islanders seemed to favor his purpose. He had not been long in their neighborhood before a deputation of the natives, with their cacique at their head, crossed over in their balsas to the main land to welcome the Spaniards to their residence. But the Indian interpreters of Tumbez, who had returned with Pizarro from Spain, and continued with the camp, put their master on his guard against the meditated treachery of the islanders, whom they accused of designing to destroy the Spaniards by cutting the ropes that held together the floats and leaving those upon them to perish in the waters. Yet the cacique, when charged by Pizarro with this perfidious scheme, denied it with such an air of conscious innocence that the Spanish commander trusted himself and his followers, without further hesitation, to his conveyance, and was transported in safety to the shores of Puná.

Here he was received in a hospitable manner, and his troops were provided with comfortable quarters. Well satisfied with his present position, Pizarro resolved to occupy it until the violence of the rainy season was past, when the arrival of the reinforcements he expected would put him in better condition for marching into the country of the Inca.

The island, which lies in the mouth of the river of Guayaquil, and is about eight leagues in length by four in breadth at the widest part, was at that

time partially covered with a noble growth of timber. But a large portion of it was subjected to cultivation, and bloomed with plantations of cacao, of the sweet potato, and the different products of a tropical clime, evincing agricultural knowledge as well as industry in the population. They were a warlike race, but had received from their Peruvian foes the appellation of "perfidious." It was the brand fastened by the Roman historians on their Carthaginian enemies,—with perhaps no better reason. The bold and independent islanders opposed a stubborn resistance to the arms of the Incas; and, though they had finally yielded, they had been ever since at feud, and often in deadly hostility, with their neighbors of Tumbez.

The latter had no sooner heard of Pizarro's arrival on the island than, trusting probably to their former friendly relations with him, they came over in some number to the Spanish quarters. The presence of their detested rivals was by no means grateful to the jealous inhabitants of Puná, and the prolonged residence of the white men on their island could not be otherwise than burdensome. In their outward demeanor they still maintained the same show of amity; but Pizarro's interpreters again put him on his guard against the proverbial perfidy of their hosts. With his suspicions thus roused, the Spanish commander was informed that a number of the chiefs had met together to deliberate on a plan of insurrection. Not caring to wait for the springing of the mine, he surrounded the place of meeting with his soldiers and

made prisoners of the suspected chieftains. According to one authority, they confessed their guilt.²⁴ This is by no means certain. Nor is it certain that they meditated an insurrection. Yet the fact is not improbable in itself; though it derives little additional probability from the assertion of the hostile interpreters. It is certain, however, that Pizarro was satisfied of the existence of a conspiracy; and, without further hesitation, he abandoned his wretched prisoners, ten or twelve in number, to the tender mercies of their rivals of Tumbez, who instantly massacred them before his eyes.²⁵

Maddened by this outrage, the people of Puná sprang to arms, and threw themselves at once, with fearful yells and the wildest menaces of despair, on the Spanish camp. The odds of numbers were greatly in their favor, for they mustered several thousand warriors. But the more decisive odds of arms and discipline were on the side of their antagonists; and, as the Indians rushed forward in a confused mass to the assault, the Castilians coolly received them on their long pikes or swept them down by the volleys of their musketry. Their ill-protected bodies were easily cut to pieces by the sharp sword of the Spaniard; and Hernando Pizarro, putting himself at the head of the cavalry, charged boldly into the midst, and scattered them far and wide over the field, until, panic-

²⁴ Xerez, Conq. del Peru, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 183.

²⁵ "Y el marques don Francisco Piçarro, por tenellos por amigos y estuviesen de paz quando alla passasen, les dio algunos principales los quales ellos matavan en presencia de los españoles, cortandoles las cavezas por el cogote." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

struck by the terrible array of steel-clad horsemen and the stunning reports and the flash of fire-arms, the fugitives sought shelter in the depths of their forests. Yet the victory was owing, in some degree, at least,—if we may credit the Conquerors,—to the interposition of Heaven; for St. Michael and his legions were seen high in the air above the combatants, contending with the arch-enemy of man and cheering on the Christians by their example!²⁶

Not more than three or four Spaniards fell in the fight; but many were wounded, and among them Hernando Pizarro, who received a severe injury in the leg from a javelin. Nor did the war end here; for the implacable islanders, taking advantage of the cover of night, or of any remissness on the part of the invaders, were ever ready to steal out of their fastnesses and spring on their enemy's camp, while, by cutting off his straggling parties and destroying his provisions, they kept him in perpetual alarm.

In this uncomfortable situation, the Spanish commander was gladdened by the appearance of

²⁶ The city of San Miguel was so named by Pizarro to commemorate the event; and the existence of such a city may be considered by some as establishing the truth of the miracle.—“En la batalla de Puná vieron muchos, ya de los Indios, ya de los nuestros, que había en el aire otros dos campos, uno acaudillado por el Arcangel S^a Miguel con espada y rodela, y otro por Luzbel y sus secuaces; mas apenas cantaron los Castellanos la victoria huyeron los diablos, y formando un gran torvellino de viento se oyeron en el aire unas terribles voces que decian, Vencistenos! Miguel vencistenos! De aqui tornó D^a Francisco Pizarro tanta devocion al sto Arcangel, que prometió llamar la primera ciudad que fundase de su nombre; cumpliolo asi como veremos adelante.” Montesinos, *Annales*, MS., año 1530.

two vessels off the island. They brought a reinforcement consisting of a hundred volunteers, besides horses for the cavalry. It was commanded by Hernando de Soto, a captain afterwards famous as the discoverer of the Mississippi, which still rolls its majestic current over the place of his burial,—a fitting monument for his remains, as it is of his renown.²⁷

This reinforcement was most welcome to Pizarro, who had been long discontented with his position on an island, where he found nothing to compensate the life of unintermitting hostility which he was compelled to lead. With these recruits he felt himself in sufficient strength to cross over to the continent and resume military operations on the proper theatre for discovery and conquest. From the Indians of Tumbes he learned that the country had been for some time distracted by a civil war between two sons of the late monarch, competitors for the throne. This intelligence he regarded as of the utmost importance, for he remembered the use which Cortés had made of similar dissensions among the tribes of Anahuac. Indeed, Pizarro seems to have had the example of his great predecessor before his eyes on more occasions than this. But he fell far short of his model; for, notwithstanding the restraint he sometimes put upon himself, his coarser nature and more ferocious temper often betrayed him

²⁷ The transactions in Puná are given at more or less length by Naharro, *Relacion sumaria*, MS.—Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.—Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—Montesinos, *Annales*, MS., ubi supra.—*Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.—Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. pp. 182, 183.

into acts most repugnant to sound policy, which would never have been countenanced by the Conqueror of Mexico.*

* [The religious fanaticism which was so strongly manifested by Cortés was never seen in Pizarro.—M.]

CHAPTER II

PERU AT THE TIME OF THE CONQUEST—REIGN OF
HUAYNA CAPAC — THE INCA BROTHERS — CON-
TEST FOR THE EMPIRE—TRIUMPH AND CRUELITIES
OF ATAHUALLPA

BEFORE accompanying the march of Pizarro and his followers into the country of the Incas, it is necessary to make the reader acquainted with the critical situation of the kingdom at this time. For the Spaniards arrived just at the consummation of an important revolution,—a crisis most favorable to their views of conquest, and one, indeed, but for which the conquest, with such a handful of soldiers, could never have been achieved.

In the latter part of the fifteenth century died Tupac Inca Yupanqui, one of the most renowned of the “Children of the Sun,” who, carrying the Peruvian arms across the burning sands of Atacama, penetrated to the remote borders of Chili, while in the opposite direction he enlarged the limits of the empire by the acquisition of the southern provinces of Quito. The war in this quarter was conducted by his son Huayna Capac, who succeeded his father on the throne, and fully equalled him in military daring and in capacity for government.

Under this prince, the whole of the powerful

state of Quito, which rivalled that of Peru itself in wealth and refinement, was brought under the sceptre of the Incas; whose empire received by this conquest the most important accession yet made to it since the foundation of the dynasty of Manco Capac. The remaining days of the victorious monarch were passed in reducing the independent tribes on the remote limits of his territory, and, still more, in cementing his conquests by the introduction of the Peruvian polity. He was actively engaged in completing the great works of his father, especially the high-roads which led from Quito to the capital. He perfected the establishment of posts, took great pains to introduce the Quichua dialect throughout the empire, promoted a better system of agriculture, and, in fine, encouraged the different branches of domestic industry and the various enlightened plans of his predecessors for the improvement of his people. Under his sway the Peruvian monarchy reached its most palmy state; and under both him and his illustrious father it was advancing with such rapid strides in the march of civilization as would soon have carried it to a level with the more refined despotisms of Asia, furnishing the world, perhaps, with higher evidence of the capabilities of the American Indian than is elsewhere to be found on the great Western continent. But other and gloomier destinies were in reserve for the Indian races.

The first arrival of the white men on the South American shores of the Pacific was about ten years before the death of Huayna Capac, when

Balboa crossed the Gulf of St. Michael and obtained the first clear report of the empire of the Incas. Whether tidings of these adventurers reached the Indian monarch's ears is doubtful. There is no doubt, however, that he obtained the news of the first expedition under Pizarro and Almagro, when the latter commander penetrated as far as the Rio de San Juan, about the fourth degree north. The accounts which he received made a strong impression on the mind of Huayna Capac. He discerned in the formidable prowess and weapons of the invaders proofs of a civilization far superior to that of his own people. He intimated his apprehension that they would return, and that at some day, not far distant perhaps, the throne of the Incas might be shaken by these strangers endowed with such incomprehensible powers.¹ To the vulgar eye, it was a little speck on the verge of the horizon; but that of the sagacious monarch seemed to descry in it the dark thunder-cloud that was to spread wider and wider till it burst in fury on his nation.

There is some ground for believing thus much. But other accounts, which have obtained a popular currency, not content with this, connect the first tidings of the white men with predictions long extant in the country, and with supernatural appearances which filled the hearts of the whole nation with dismay. Comets were seen flaming athwart the heavens. Earthquakes shook the land; the moon was girdled with rings of fire

¹ Sarmiento, an honest authority, tells us he had this from some of the Inca lords who heard it. *Relacion*, MS., cap. 65.

of many colors; a thunderbolt fell on one of the royal palaces and consumed it to ashes; and an eagle, chased by several hawks, was seen, screaming in the air, to hover above the great square of Cuzco, when, pierced by the talons of his tormentors, the king of birds fell lifeless in the presence of many of the Inca nobles, who read in this an augury of their own destruction. Huayna Capac himself, calling his great officers around him, as he found he was drawing near his end, announced the subversion of his empire by the race of white and bearded strangers, as the consummation predicted by the oracles after the reign of the twelfth Inca, and he enjoined it on his vassals not to resist the decrees of Heaven, but to yield obedience to its messengers.²

Such is the report of the impressions made by the appearance of the Spaniards in the country, reminding one of the similar feelings of superstitious terror occasioned by their appearance in Mexico. But the traditions of the latter land rest on much higher authority than those of the Peruvians, which, unsupported by contemporary testimony, rest almost wholly on the naked assertion of one of their own nation, who thought to find,

² A minute relation of these supernatural occurrences is given by the Inca Garcilasso de la Vega (*Com. Real.*, Parte 1, lib. 9, cap. 14), whose situation opened to him the very best sources of information, which is more than counterbalanced by the defects of his own character as an historian,—his childish credulity, and his desire to magnify and mystify every thing relating to his own order, and, indeed, his nation. His work is the source of most of the facts—and the falsehoods—that have obtained circulation in respect to the ancient Peruvians. Unfortunately, at this distance of time it is not always easy to distinguish the one from the other.

doubtless, in the inevitable decrees of Heaven the best apology for the supineness of his countrymen.

It is not improbable that rumors of the advent of a strange and mysterious race should have spread gradually among the Indian tribes along the great table-land of the Cordilleras, and should have shaken the hearts of the stoutest warriors with feelings of undefined dread, as of some impending calamity. In this state of mind, it was natural that physical convulsions, to which that volcanic country is peculiarly subject, should have made an unwonted impression on their minds, and that the phenomena which might have been regarded only as extraordinary, in the usual seasons of political security, should now be interpreted by the superstitious soothsayer as the handwriting on the heavens, by which the God of the Incas proclaimed the approaching downfall of their empire.

Huayna Capac had, as usual with the Peruvian princes, a multitude of concubines, by whom he left a numerous posterity. The heir to the crown, the son of his lawful wife and sister, was named Huascar.⁵ At the period of the history at which

⁵ *Huascar*, in the Quichua dialect, signifies "a cable." The reason of its being given to the heir-apparent is remarkable. Huayna Capac celebrated the birth of the prince by a festival, in which he introduced a massive gold chain for the nobles to hold in their hands as they performed their national dances. The chain was seven hundred feet in length, and the links nearly as big round as a man's wrist! (See Zarate, *Conq. del Peru*, lib. 1, cap. 14.—Garcilasso, *Com. Real.*, Parte 1, lib. 9, cap. 1.) The latter writer had the particulars, he tells us, from his old Inca uncle,—who seems to have dealt largely in the marvellous; not too largely for his audience, however, as the story has been circulated without scruple by most of the Castilian writers both of that and of the succeeding age.

we are now arrived, he was about thirty years of age. Next to the heir-apparent, by another wife, a cousin of the monarch's, came Manco Capac, a young prince who will occupy an important place in our subsequent story. But the best-beloved of the Inca's children was Atahualpa. His mother was the daughter of the last *Scyri* of Quito, who had died of grief, it was said, not long after the subversion of his kingdom by Huayna Capac. The princess was beautiful, and the Inca, whether to gratify his passion, or, as the Peruvians say, willing to make amends for the ruin of her parents, received her among his concubines. The historians of Quito assert that she was his lawful wife; but this dignity, according to the usages of the empire, was reserved for maidens of the Inca blood.

The latter years of Huayna Capac were passed in his new kingdom of Quito. Atahualpa was accordingly brought up under his own eye, accompanied him, while in his tender years, in his campaigns, slept in the same tent with his royal father, and ate from the same plate.⁴ The vivacity of the boy, his courage and generous nature, won the affections of the old monarch to such a degree that he resolved to depart from the established usages of the realm and divide his empire between him and his elder brother Huascar. On his death-bed he called the great officers of the crown around

⁴ "Atabalipa era bien quisto de los Capitanes viejos de su Padre y de los Soldados, porque andubo en la guerra en su nifiez y porque él en vida le mostró tanto amor que no le dejaba comer otra cosa que lo que él le daba de su plato." Sarmiento, *Relacion*, MS., cap. 66.



THE INCA HUASCAR

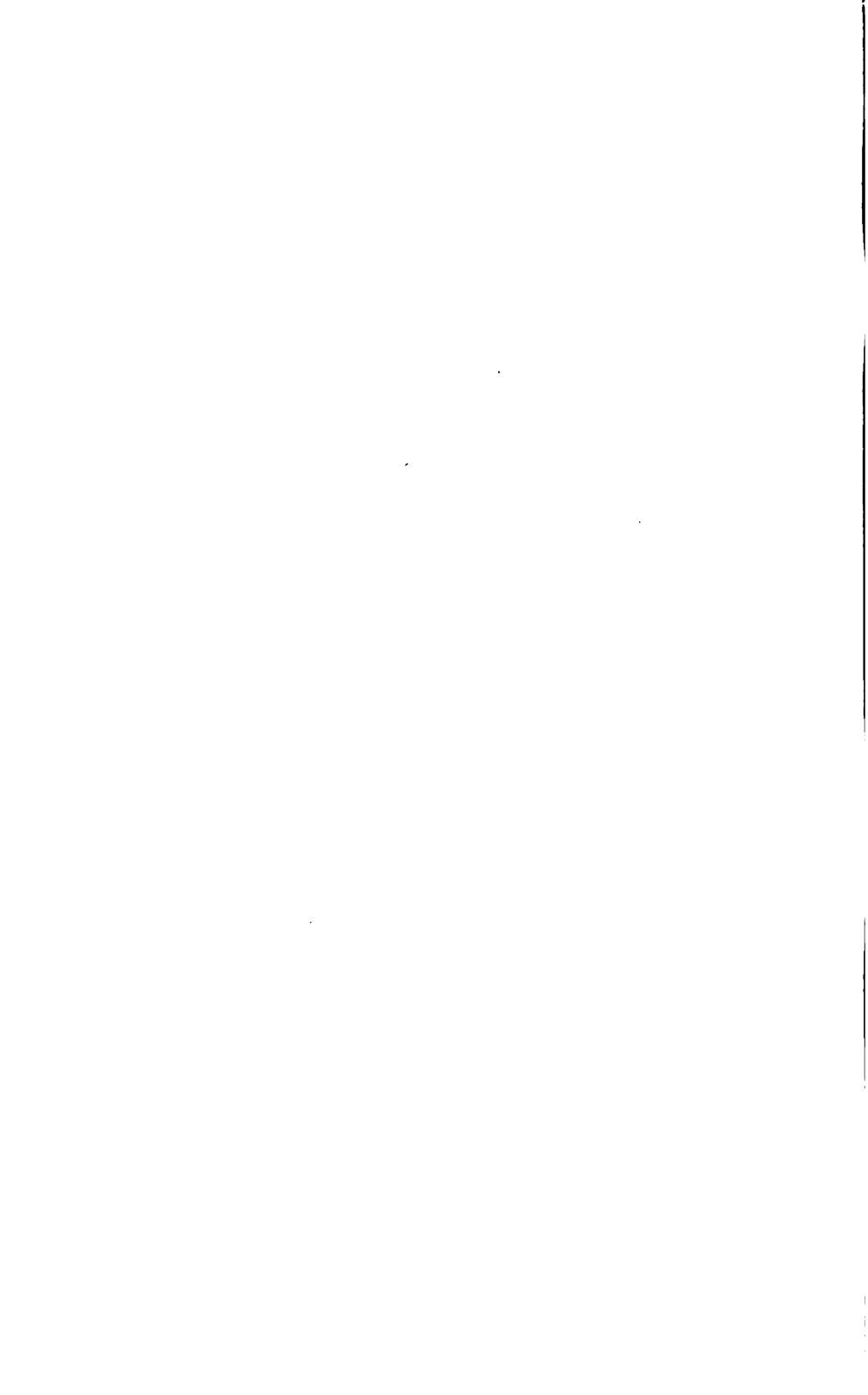
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Ynoa, Tlaxtec ruler



him, and declared it to be his will that the ancient kingdom of Quito should pass to Atahualpa, who might be considered as having a natural claim on it, as the dominion of his ancestors. The rest of the empire he settled on Huascar; and he enjoined it on the two brothers to acquiesce in this arrangement and to live in amity with each other. This was the last act of the heroic monarch; doubtless the most impolitic of his whole life. With his dying breath he subverted the fundamental laws of the empire; and, while he recommended harmony between the successors to his authority, he left in this very division of it the seeds of inevitable discord.⁵

His death took place, as seems probable, at the close of 1525, not quite seven years before Pizarro's arrival at Puná.⁶ The tidings of his decease spread sorrow and consternation throughout the land; for, though stern and even inexorable to the rebel and the long-resisting foe, he was a brave and magnanimous monarch, and legislated with the enlarged views of a prince who regarded

⁵ Oviedo, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 1, lib. 8, cap. 9.—Zarate, *Conq. del Peru*, lib. 1, cap. 12.—Sarmiento, *Relacion*, MS., cap. 65.—Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 201.

⁶ The precise date of this event, though so near the time of the Conquest, is matter of doubt. Balboa, a contemporary with the Conquerors, and who wrote at Quito, where the Inca died, fixes it at 1525. (*Hist. due Pérou*, chap. 14.) Velasco, another inhabitant of the same place, after an investigation of the different accounts, comes to the like conclusion. (*Hist. de Quito*, tom. i. p. 232.) Dr. Robertson, after telling us that Huayna Capac died in 1529, speaks again of this event as having happened in 1527. (*Conf. America*, vol. iii. pp. 25, 381.) Any one who has been bewildered by the chronological snarl of the ancient chronicles will not be surprised at meeting occasionally with such inconsistencies in a writer who is obliged to take them as his guides.

every part of his dominions as equally his concern. The people of Quito, flattered by the proofs which he had given of preference for them by his permanent residence in that country and his embellishment of their capital, manifested unfeigned sorrow at his loss; and his subjects at Cuzco, proud of the glory which his arms and his abilities had secured for his native land, held him in no less admiration;⁷ while the more thoughtful and the more timid, in both countries, looked with apprehension to the future, when the sceptre of the vast empire, instead of being swayed by an old and experienced hand, was to be consigned to rival princes, naturally jealous of one another, and, from their age, necessarily exposed to the unwholesome influence of crafty and ambitious counsellors. The people testified their regret by the unwonted honors paid to the memory of the deceased Inca. His heart was retained in Quito, and his body, embalmed after the fashion of the country, was transported to Cuzco, to take its place in the great temple of the Sun, by the side of the remains of his royal ancestors. His obsequies were celebrated with sanguinary splendor in both the capitals of his far-extended empire; and several thousand of the imperial concubines, with numerous pages and officers of the palace, are said to have proved their sorrow, or their superstition, by offering up their own lives, that they might

⁷ One cannot doubt this monarch's popularity with the female part of his subjects, at least, if, as the historian of the Incas tells us, "he was never known to refuse a woman, of whatever age or degree she might be, any favor that she asked of him" ! *Com. Real, Parte 1, lib. 8, cap. 7.*

accompany their departed lord to the bright mansions of the Sun.⁸

For nearly five years after the death of Huayna Capac, the royal brothers reigned, each over his allotted portion of the empire, without distrust of one another, or, at least, without collision. It seemed as if the wish of their father was to be completely realized, and that the two states were to maintain their respective integrity and independence as much as if they had never been united into one. But, with the manifold causes for jealousy and discontent, and the swarms of courtly sycophants who would find their account in fomenting these feelings, it was easy to see that this tranquil state of things could not long endure. Nor would it have endured so long, but for the more gentle temper of Huascar, the only party who had ground for complaint. He was four or five years older than his brother, and was possessed of courage not to be doubted; but he was a prince of a generous and easy nature, and perhaps, if left to himself, might have acquiesced in an arrangement which, however unpalatable, was the will of his deified father. But Atahualpa was of a different temper. Warlike, ambitious, and daring, he was constantly engaged in enterprises for the enlargement of his own territory, though his crafty policy was scrupulous not to aim at extending his acquisitions in the direction of his royal brother. His restless spirit, however, excited some alarm at the court of Cuzco, and

⁸ Sarmiento, *Relacion*, MS., cap. 65.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 8, lib. 3, cap. 17.

Huascar at length sent an envoy to Atahualpa, to remonstrate with him on his ambitious enterprises, and to require him to render him homage for his kingdom of Quito.

This is one statement. Other accounts pretend that the immediate cause of rupture was a claim instituted by Huascar for the territory of Tumebamba, held by his brother as part of his patrimonial inheritance. It matters little what was the ostensible ground of collision between persons placed by circumstances in so false a position in regard to one another that collision must, at some time or other, inevitably occur.

The commencement, and, indeed, the whole course, of hostilities which soon broke out between the rival brothers are stated with irreconcilable and, considering the period was so near to that of the Spanish invasion, with unaccountable discrepancy. By some it is said that in Atahualpa's first encounter with the troops of Cuzco he was defeated and made prisoner near Tumebamba, a favorite residence of his father, in the ancient territory of Quito and in the district of Cañaris. From this disaster he recovered by a fortunate escape from confinement, when, regaining his capital, he soon found himself at the head of a numerous army, led by the most able and experienced captains in the empire. The liberal manners of the young Atahualpa had endeared him to the soldiers, with whom, as we have seen, he served more than one campaign in his father's lifetime. These troops were the flower of the great army of the Inca, and some of them had grown gray

in his long military career, which had left them at the north, where they readily transferred their allegiance to the young sovereign of Quito. They were commanded by two officers of great consideration, both possessed of large experience in military affairs and high in the confidence of the late Inca. One of them was named Quizquiz; the other, who was the maternal uncle of Atahualpa, was called Chalcuchima.

With these practised warriors to guide him, the young monarch put himself at the head of his martial array and directed his march towards the south. He had not advanced farther than Ambato, about sixty miles distant from his capital, when he fell in with a numerous host which had been sent against him by his brother, under the command of a distinguished chieftain of the Inca family. A bloody battle followed, which lasted the greater part of the day; and the theatre of combat was the skirts of the mighty Chimborazo.*

The battle ended favorably for Atahualpa, and the Peruvians were routed with great slaughter and the loss of their commander. The Prince of Quito availed himself of his advantage to push forward his march until he arrived before the gates of Tumebamba, which city, as well as the whole district of Cañaris, though an ancient de-

* Garcilasso denies that any thing but insignificant skirmishes took place before the decisive action fought on the plains of Cusco. But Sarmiento, who gathered his accounts of these events, as he tells us, from the actors in them, walked over the field of battle at Ambato, when the ground was still covered with the bones of the slain: "Yo hé pasado por este Pueblo y hé visto el Lugar donde dicen que esta Batalla se dió, y cierto segun hay la osamenta devieron aun de morir mas gente de la que cuentan." *Relacion*, MS., cap. 69.

pendency of Quito, had sided with his rival in the contest. Entering the captive city like a conqueror, he put the inhabitants to the sword, and razed it with all its stately edifices, some of which had been reared by his own father, to the ground. He carried on the same war of extermination as he marched through the offending district of Cañaris. In some places, it is said, bands of children, as well as of older persons, were sent out, in melancholy procession, with green branches in their hands, to deprecate his wrath; but the vindictive conqueror, deaf to their entreaties, laid the country waste with fire and sword, sparing no man capable of bearing arms who fell into his hands.¹⁰

The fate of Cañaris struck terror into the hearts of his enemies, and one place after another opened its gates to the victor, who held on his triumphant march towards the Peruvian capital. His arms experienced a temporary check before the island of Puná, whose bold warriors maintained the cause of his brother. After some days lost before this place, Atahualpa left the contest to their old enemies, the people of Tumbez, who had early

¹⁰ "Cuentan muchos Indios á quien yo lo oí, que por amansar su ira, mandaron á un escuadron grande de niños y á otro de hombres de toda edad, que saliesen hasta las ricas andas donde venia con gran pompa, llevando en las manos ramos verdes y ojas de palma, y que le pidiesen la gracia y amistad suya para el pueblo, sin mirar la injuria pasada, y que en tantos clamores se lo suplicaron, y con tanta humildad, que bastara quebrantar corazones de piedra; mas poca impresion hicieron en el cruel de Atabalipa, porque dicen que mandó á sus capitanes y gentes que matasen á todos aquellos que habian venido, lo cual fué hecho, no perdonando sino á algunos niños y á las mugeres sagradas del Templo." Sarmiento, *Relacion*, MS., cap. 70.

given in their adhesion to him, while he resumed his march and advanced as far as Caxamalca, about seven degrees south. Here he halted with a detachment of the army, sending forward the main body under the command of his two generals, with orders to move straight upon Cuzco. He preferred not to trust himself farther in the enemy's country, where a defeat might be fatal. By establishing his quarters at Caxamalca, he would be able to support his generals in case of a reverse, or, at worst, to secure his retreat on Quito until he was again in condition to renew hostilities.

The two commanders, advancing by rapid marches, at length crossed the Apurimac River, and arrived within a short distance of the Peruvian capital. Meanwhile, Huascar had not been idle. On receiving tidings of the discomfiture of his army at Ambato, he made every exertion to raise levies throughout the country. By the advice, it is said, of his priests,—the most incompetent advisers in times of danger,—he chose to await the approach of the enemy in his own capital; and it was not till the latter had arrived within a few leagues of Cuzco that the Inca, taking counsel of the same ghostly monitors, sallied forth to give him battle.

The two armies met on the plains of Quipaypan, in the neighborhood of the Indian metropolis. Their numbers are stated with the usual discrepancy; but Atahualpa's troops had considerably the advantage in discipline and experience, for many of Huascar's levies had been drawn hastily

together from the surrounding country. Both fought, however, with the desperation of men who felt that every thing was at stake. It was no longer a contest for a province, but for the possession of an empire. Atahualpa's troops, flushed with recent success, fought with the confidence of those who relied on their superior prowess; while the loyal vassals of the Inca displayed all the self-devotion of men who held their own lives cheap in the service of their master.

The fight raged with the greatest obstinacy from sunrise to sunset; and the ground was covered with heaps of the dying and the dead, whose bones lay bleaching on the battle-field long after the conquest by the Spaniards. At length, fortune declared in favor of Atahualpa, or, rather, the usual result of superior discipline and military practice followed. The ranks of the Inca were thrown into irretrievable disorder, and gave way in all directions. The conquerors followed close on the heels of the flying. Huascar himself, among the latter, endeavored to make his escape with about a thousand men who remained round his person. But the royal fugitive was discovered before he had left the field; his little party was enveloped by clouds of the enemy, and nearly every one of the devoted band perished in defence of their Inca. Huascar was made prisoner, and the victorious chiefs marched at once on his capital, which they occupied in the name of their sovereign.¹¹

¹¹ Cieza de Leon, *Cronica*, cap. 77.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 9.—Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom.

These events occurred in the spring of 1532, a few months before the landing of the Spaniards. The tidings of the success of his arms and the capture of his unfortunate brother reached Atahualpa at Caxamalca. He instantly gave orders that Huascar should be treated with the respect due to his rank, but that he should be removed to the strong fortress of Xauxa and held there in strict confinement. His orders did not stop here,—if we are to receive the accounts of Garcilasso de la Vega, himself of the Inca race, and by his mother's side nephew of the great Huayna Capac.

According to this authority, Atahualpa invited the Inca nobles throughout the country to assemble at Cuzco, in order to deliberate on the best means of partitioning the empire between him and his brother. When they had met in the capital, they were surrounded by the soldiery of Quito and butchered without mercy. The motive for this perfidious act was to exterminate the whole of the royal family, who might each one of them show a better title to the crown than the illegitimate Atahualpa. But the massacre did not end here. The illegitimate offspring, like himself, half-brothers of the monster, all, in short, who had any of the Inca blood in their veins, were involved in it; and, with an appetite for carnage unparalleled in the annals of the Roman Empire or of the French Republic, Atahualpa ordered all the females of the blood royal, his aunts, nieces,

iii. p. 202.—Zarate, *Conq. del Peru*, lib. 1, cap. 12.—Sarmiento, *Relacion*, MS., cap. 70.—Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.

and cousins, to be put to death, and that, too, with the most refined and lingering tortures. To give greater zest to his revenge, many of the executions took place in the presence of Huascar himself, who was thus compelled to witness the butchery of his own wives and sisters, while, in the extremity of anguish, they in vain called on him to protect them!¹²

Such is the tale told by the historian of the Incas, and received by him, as he assures us, from his mother and uncle, who, being children at the time, were so fortunate as to be among the few that escaped the massacre of their house.¹³ And such is the account repeated by many a Castilian writer since, without any symptom of distrust. But a tissue of unprovoked atrocities like these is too repugnant to the principles of human nature—and, indeed, to common sense—to warrant our belief in them on ordinary testimony.

The annals of semi-civilized nations unhappily show that there have been instances of similar attempts to extinguish the whole of a noxious race

¹² Garcilasso, *Com. Real.*, Parte 1, lib. 9, cap. 35-39.—“A las Mujeres, Hermanas, Tías, Sobrinas, Primas Hermanas, y Madrastras de Atahualpa, colgavan de los Arboles, y de muchas Horcas muy altas que hicieron: à unas colgaron de los cabellos, à otras por debajo de los brazos, y à otras de otras maneras feas, que por la honestidad se callan: davanles sus hijuelos, que los tuviesen en brazos, teníanlos hasta que se les calan, y se aporreaban.” (*Ibid.*, cap. 37.) The variety of torture shows some invention in the writer, or, more probably, in the writer’s uncle, the ancient Inca, the *raconteur* of these Bluebeard butcheries.

¹³ “Las crueldades, que Atahualpa en los de la Sangre Real hizo, diré de Relacion de mi Madre, y de un Hermano suyo, que se llamó Don Fernando Hualpa Tupac Inca Yupanqui, que entonces eran Niños de menos de diez Años.” Garcilasso, *Com. Real.*, Parte 1, lib. 9, cap. 14.

which had become the object of a tyrant's jealousy; though such an attempt is about as chimerical as it would be to extirpate any particular species of plant the seeds of which had been borne on every wind over the country. But, if the attempt to exterminate the Inca race was actually made by Atahualpa, how comes it that so many of the pure descendants of the blood royal—nearly six hundred in number—are admitted by the historian to have been in existence seventy years after the imputed massacre?¹⁴ Why was the massacre, instead of being limited to the legitimate members of the royal stock, who could show a better title to the crown than the usurper, extended to all, however remotely or in whatever way, connected with the race? Why were aged women and young maidens involved in the proscription, and why were they subjected to such refined and superfluous tortures, when it is obvious that beings so impotent could have done nothing to provoke the jealousy of the tyrant? Why, when so many were sacrificed from some vague apprehension of distant danger, was his rival Huascar, together with his younger brother Manco Capac, the two men from whom the conqueror had most to fear, suffered to live? Why, in short, is the wonderful tale not recorded by others before the time of Gar-

¹⁴ This appears from a petition for certain immunities, forwarded to Spain in 1603, and signed by five hundred and sixty-seven Indians of the royal Inca race. (Ibid., Parte 3, lib. 9, cap. 40.) Oviedo says that Huayna Capac left a hundred sons and daughters, and that *most of them were alive at the time his writing*: "Tubo cien hijos y hijas, y la mayor parte de ellos son vivos." Hist. de las Indias, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 9.

cilasso, and nearer by half a century to the events themselves? ¹⁵

That Atahualpa may have been guilty of excesses, and abused the rights of conquest by some gratuitous acts of cruelty, may be readily believed; for no one who calls to mind his treatment of the Cañaris—which his own apologists do not affect to deny ¹⁶—will doubt that he had a full measure of the vindictive temper which belongs to

“Those souls of fire, and Children of the Sun,
With whom revenge was virtue.”

But there is a wide difference between this and the monstrous and most unprovoked atrocities imputed to him, implying a diabolical nature not to be admitted on the evidence of an Indian partisan, the sworn foe of his house, and repeated by Castilian chroniclers, who may naturally seek, by blazoning the enormities of Atahualpa, to find some apology for the cruelty of their countrymen towards him.

The news of the great victory was borne on the wings of the wind to Caxamalca; and loud and long was the rejoicing, not only in the camp of

¹⁵ I have looked in vain for some confirmation of this story in Oviedo, Sarmiento, Xerez, Cieza de Leon, Zarate, Pedro Pizarro, Gomara,—all living at the time, and having access to the best sources of information, and all, it may be added, disposed to do stern justice to the evil qualities of the Indian monarch.

¹⁶ No one of the apologists of Atahualpa goes quite so far as Father Velasco, who, in the overflowings of his loyalty for a Quito monarch, regards his massacre of the Cañaris as a very fair retribution for their offences: “Si les auteurs dont je viens de parler s'étaient trouvés dans les mêmes circonstances qu'Atahualpa et avaient éprouvé autant d'offenses graves et de trahisons, je ne croirai jamais qu'ils eussent agi autrement.” *Hist. de Quito*, tom. I. p. 263.

Atahualpa, but in the town and surrounding country; for all now came in, eager to offer their congratulations to the victor and do him homage. The prince of Quito no longer hesitated to assume the scarlet *borla*, the diadem of the Incas. His triumph was complete. He had beaten his enemies on their own ground, had taken their capital, had set his foot on the neck of his rival, and won for himself the ancient sceptre of the Children of the Sun. But the hour of triumph was destined to be that of his deepest humiliation. Atahualpa was not one of those to whom, in the language of the Grecian bard, "the gods are willing to reveal themselves."¹⁷ He had not read the handwriting on the heavens. The small speck which the clear-sighted eye of his father had discerned on the distant verge of the horizon, though little noticed by Atahualpa, intent on the deadly strife with his brother, had now risen high towards the zenith, spreading wider and wider, till it wrapped the skies in darkness and was ready to burst in thunders on the devoted nation.

¹⁷ "Ὁ γὰρ πᾶς πάντας θεοὶ φαίνονται ἑταρπύει."

ΟΔΥΣΣ., π., v. 161.

CHAPTER III

THE SPANIARDS LAND AT TUMBEZ—PIZARRO RECONNOITRES THE COUNTRY—FOUNDATION OF SAN MIGUEL—MARCH INTO THE INTERIOR—EMBASSY FROM THE INCA—ADVENTURES ON THE MARCH—ARRIVAL AT THE FOOT OF THE ANDES

1582

WE left the Spaniards at the island of Puná, preparing to make their descent on the neighboring continent at Tumbez. This port was but a few leagues distant, and Pizarro, with the greater part of his followers, passed over in the ships, while a few others were to transport the commander's baggage and the military stores on some of the Indian balsas. One of the latter vessels which first touched the shore was surrounded, and three persons who were on the raft were carried off by the natives to the adjacent woods and there massacred. The Indians then got possession of another of the balsas, containing Pizarro's wardrobe; but, as the men who defended it raised loud cries for help, they reached the ears of Hernando Pizarro, who, with a small body of horse, had effected a landing some way farther down the shore. A broad tract of miry ground, overflowed at high water, lay between him and the party thus rudely assailed by the natives. The tide was out, and the bottom was soft and dangerous. With little regard to the danger, however,

the bold cavalier spurred his horse into the slimy depths, and, followed by his men, with the mud up to their saddle-girths, plunged forward into the midst of the marauders, who, terrified by the strange apparition of the horsemen, fled precipitately, without show of fight, to the neighboring forests.

This conduct of the natives of Tumbez is not easy to be explained, considering the friendly relations maintained with the Spaniards on their preceding visit, and lately renewed in the island of Puná. But Pizarro was still more astonished, on entering their town, to find it not only deserted, but, with the exception of a few buildings, entirely demolished. Four or five of the most substantial private dwellings, the great temple, and the fortress—and these greatly damaged, and wholly despoiled of their interior decorations—alone survived to mark the site of the city and attest its former splendor.¹ The scene of desolation filled the conquerors with dismay; for even the raw recruits, who had never visited the coast before, had heard the marvellous stories of the golden treasures of Tumbez, and they had confidently looked forward to them as an easy spoil after all their fatigues. But the gold of Peru seemed only like a deceitful phantom, which, after beckoning them on through toil and danger, vanished the moment they attempted to grasp it.

¹ Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 185.—“Aunque lo del templo del Sol en quien ellos adoran era cosa de ver, porque tenían grandes edificios, y todo el por de dentro y de fuera pintado de grandes pinturas y ricos matizes de colores, porque los hay en aquella tierra.” *Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.

Pizarro despatched a small body of troops in pursuit of the fugitives; and, after some slight skirmishing, they got possession of several of the natives, and among them, as it chanced, the curaca of the place. When brought before the Spanish commander, he exonerated himself from any share in the violence offered to the white men, saying that it was done by a lawless party of his people, without his knowledge at the time; and he expressed his willingness to deliver them up to punishment, if they could be detected. He explained the dilapidated condition of the town by the long wars carried on with the fierce tribes of Puná, who had at length succeeded in getting possession of the place and driving the inhabitants into the neighboring woods and mountains. The Inca, to whose cause they were attached, was too much occupied with his own feuds to protect them against their enemies.

Whether Pizarro gave any credit to the cacique's exculpation of himself may be doubted. He dissembled his suspicions, however, and, as the Indian lord promised obedience in his own name and that of his vassals, the Spanish general consented to take no further notice of the affair. He seems now to have felt for the first time, in its full force, that it was his policy to gain the good will of the people among whom he had thrown himself in the face of such tremendous odds. It was, perhaps, the excesses of which his men had been guilty in the earlier stages of the expedition that had shaken the confidence of the people of Tumbez and incited them to this treacherous retaliation.

Pizarro inquired of the natives who now, under promise of impunity, came into the camp, what had become of his two followers that remained with them in the former expeditions. The answers they gave were obscure and contradictory. Some said they had died of an epidemic; others, that they had perished in the war with Puná; and others intimated that they had lost their lives in consequence of some outrage attempted on the Indian women. It was impossible to arrive at the truth. The last account was not the least probable. But, whatever might be the cause, there was no doubt they had both perished.

This intelligence spread an additional gloom over the Spaniards, which was not dispelled by the flaming pictures now given by the natives of the riches of the land, and of the state and magnificence of the monarch in his distant capital among the mountains. Nor did they credit the authenticity of a scroll of paper which Pizarro had obtained from an Indian to whom it had been delivered by one of the white men left in the country. "Know, whoever you may be," said the writing, "that may chance to set foot in this country, that it contains more gold and silver than there is iron in Biscay." This paper, when shown to his soldiers, excited only their ridicule, as a device of their captain to keep alive their chimerical hopes.²

² For the account of the transactions in Tumbes, see Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 1.—*Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 4, lib. 9, cap. 1, 2.—Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 186.

Pizarro now saw that it was not politic to protract his stay in his present quarters, where a spirit of disaffection would soon creep into the ranks of his followers unless their spirits were stimulated by novelty or a life of incessant action. Yet he felt deeply anxious to obtain more particulars than he had hitherto gathered of the actual condition of the Peruvian empire, of its strength and resources, of the monarch who ruled over it, and of his present situation. He was also desirous, before taking any decisive step for penetrating the country, to seek out some commodious place for a settlement, which might afford him the means of a regular communication with the colonies, and a place of strength, on which he himself might retreat in case of disaster.

He decided, therefore, to leave part of his company at Tumbez, including those who, from the state of their health, were least able to take the field, and with the remainder to make an excursion into the interior and reconnoitre the land, before deciding on any plan of operations. He set out early in May, 1532, and, keeping along the more level regions himself, sent a small detachment under the command of Hernando de Soto to explore the skirts of the vast sierra.

He maintained a rigid discipline on the march, commanding his soldiers to abstain from all acts of violence, and punishing disobedience in the most prompt and resolute manner.³ The natives

³ "Mando el Gobernador por pregon é so graves penas que no le fuese hecha fuerza ni descortesia, é que se les hiciese muy buen tratamiento por los Españoles é sus criados." Oviedo, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 2.

rarely offered resistance. When they did so, they were soon reduced, and Pizarro, far from adopting vindictive measures, was open to the first demonstrations of submission. By this lenient and liberal policy he soon acquired a name among the inhabitants which effaced the unfavorable impressions made of him in the earlier part of the campaign. The natives, as he marched through the thick-settled hamlets which sprinkled the level region between the Cordilleras and the ocean, welcomed him with rustic hospitality, providing good quarters for his troops, and abundant supplies, which cost but little in the prolific soil of the *tierra caliente*. Everywhere Pizarro made proclamation that he came in the name of the Holy Vicar of God and of the sovereign of Spain, requiring the obedience of the inhabitants as true children of the Church and vassals of his lord and master. And, as the simple people made no opposition to a formula of which they could not comprehend a syllable, they were admitted as good subjects of the crown of Castile, and their act of homage—or what was readily interpreted as such—was duly recorded and attested by the notary.⁴

At the expiration of some three or four weeks

⁴ “E mandabales notificar ó dar á entender con las lenguas el requerimiento que su Magestad manda que se les haga á los Indios para traellos en conocimiento de nuestra Santa fé catolica, y requiriendoles con la paz, é que obedezcan á la Iglesia Catolica é Apostolica de Roma, é en lo temporal den la obediencia á su Magestad é á los Reyes sus sucesores en los regnos de Castilla i de Leon; respondieron qui así lo querian é harian, guardarian é cumplirian enteramente; é el Gobernador los recibio por tales vasallos de sus Magestades por auto publico de notarios.” Oviedo, Hist. de las Indias, MS., ubi supra.

spent in reconnoitring the country, Pizarro came to the conclusion that the most eligible site for his new settlement was in the rich valley of Tanguara, thirty leagues south of Tumbes, traversed by more than one stream that opens a communication with the ocean. To this spot, accordingly, he ordered the men left at Tumbes to repair at once in their vessels; and no sooner had they arrived than busy preparations were made for building up the town in a manner suited to the wants of the colony. Timber was procured from the neighboring woods, stones were dragged from their quarries, and edifices gradually rose, some of which made pretensions to strength, if not to elegance. Among them were a church, a magazine for public stores, a hall of justice, and a fortress. A municipal government was organized, consisting of regidores, alcaldes, and the usual civic functionaries. The adjacent territory was parcelled out among the residents, and each colonist had a certain number of the natives allotted to assist him in his labors; for, as Pizarro's secretary remarks, "it being evident that the colonists could not support themselves without the services of the Indians, the ecclesiastics and the leaders of the expedition all agreed that a *repartimiento* of the natives would serve the cause of religion, and tend greatly to their spiritual welfare, since they would thus have the opportunity of being initiated in the true faith." ⁵

⁵ Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.—Cieza de Leon, Cronica, cap. 86.—Relacion del primer Descub., MS.—"Porque los Vecinos, sin ajuda i servicios de los Naturales no

Having made these arrangements with such conscientious regard to the welfare of the benighted heathen, Pizarro gave his infant city the name of San Miguel, in acknowledgment of the service rendered him by that saint in his battles with the Indians of Puná. The site originally occupied by the settlement was afterwards found to be so unhealthy that it was abandoned for another on the banks of the beautiful Piura. The town is still of some note for its manufactures, though dwindled from its ancient importance; but the name of San Miguel de Piura, which it bears, still commemorates the foundation of the first European colony in the empire of the Incas.

Before quitting the new settlement, Pizarro caused the gold and silver ornaments which he had obtained in different parts of the country to be melted down into one mass, and a fifth to be deducted for the crown. The remainder, which belonged to the troops, he persuaded them to relinquish for the present, under the assurance of being repaid from the first spoils that fell into their hands.⁶ With these funds, and other articles collected in the course of the campaign, he sent

se podian sostener, ni poblarse el Pueblo. . . . A esta causa, con acuerdo de el Religioso, i de los Oficiales, que les parecia convenir asi al servicio de Dios, i bien de los Naturales, el Gobernador depositó los Caciques, i Indios en los Vecinos de este Pueblo, porque los ayudasen a sostener, i los Christianos los doctrinasen en nuestra Santa Fè, conforme á los Mandamientos de su Magestad." Xerez, Conq. del Peru, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 187.

⁶ "E sacado el quinto para su Magestad, lo restante que perteneció al Egercito de la Conquista, el Gobernador le tomó prestado de los companeros para se lo paga del primer oro que se oblese." Oviedo, Hist. de las Indias, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 2.

back the vessels to Panamá. The gold was applied to paying off the ship-owners and those who had furnished the stores for the expedition. That he should so easily have persuaded his men to resign present possessions for a future contingency is proof that the spirit of enterprise was renewed in their bosoms in all its former vigor, and that they looked forward with the same buoyant confidence to the results.

In his late tour of observation the Spanish commander had gathered much important intelligence in regard to the state of the kingdom. He had ascertained the result of the struggle between the Inca brothers, and that the victor now lay with his army encamped at the distance of only ten or twelve days' journey from San Miguel. The accounts he heard of the opulence and power of that monarch, and of his great southern capital, perfectly corresponded with the general rumors before received, and contained, therefore, something to stagger the confidence, as well as to stimulate the cupidity, of the invaders.

Pizarro would gladly have seen his little army strengthened by reinforcements, however small the amount, and on that account postponed his departure for several weeks. But no reinforcement arrived; and, as he received no further tidings from his associates, he judged that longer delay would probably be attended with evils greater than those to be encountered on the march; that discontents would inevitably spring up in a life of inaction, and the strength and spirits of the soldier sink under the enervating

influence of a tropical climate. Yet the force at his command, amounting to less than two hundred soldiers in all, after reserving fifty for the protection of the new settlement, seemed but a small one for the conquest of an empire. He might, indeed, instead of marching against the Inca, take a southerly direction towards the rich capital of Cuzco. But this would only be to postpone the hour of reckoning. For in what quarter of the empire could he hope to set his foot, where the arm of its master would not reach him? By such a course, moreover, he would show his own distrust of himself. He would shake that opinion of his invincible prowess which he had hitherto endeavored to impress on the natives, and which constituted a great secret of his strength; which, in short, held sterner sway over the mind than the display of numbers and mere physical force. Worse than all, such a course would impair the confidence of his troops in themselves and their reliance on himself. This would be to palsy the arm of enterprise at once. It was not to be thought of.

But, while Pizarro decided to march into the interior, it is doubtful whether he had formed any more definite plan of action. We have no means of knowing his intentions, at this distance of time, otherwise than as they are shown by his actions. Unfortunately, he could not write, and he has left no record, like the inestimable Commentaries of Cortés, to enlighten us as to his motives. His secretary, and some of his companions in arms, have recited his actions in detail; but the motives

which led to them they were not always so competent to disclose.

It is possible that the Spanish general, even so early as the period of his residence at San Miguel, may have meditated some daring stroke, some effective *coup-de-main*, which, like that of Cortés when he carried off the Aztec monarch to his quarters, might strike terror into the hearts of the people and at once decide the fortunes of the day. It is more probable, however, that he now only proposed to present himself before the Inca as the peaceful representative of a brother monarch, and by these friendly demonstrations disarm any feeling of hostility, or even of suspicion. When once in communication with the Indian prince, he could regulate his future course by circumstances.

On the 24th of September, 1582, five months after landing at Tumbes, Pizarro marched out at the head of his little body of adventurers from the gates of San Miguel, having enjoined it on the colonists to treat their Indian vassals with humanity and to conduct themselves in such a manner as would secure the good will of the surrounding tribes. Their own existence, and with it the safety of the army and the success of the undertaking, depended on this course. In the place were to remain the royal treasurer, the *veedor*, or inspector of metals, and other officers of the crown; and the command of the garrison was intrusted to the *contador*, Antonio Navarro.⁷

⁷ Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 187.—Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 10.

Then, putting himself at the head of his troops, the chief struck boldly into the heart of the country in the direction where, as he was informed, lay the camp of the Inca. It was a daring enterprise, thus to venture with a handful of followers into the heart of a powerful empire, to present himself face to face before the Indian monarch in his own camp, encompassed by the flower of his victorious army! Pizarro had already experienced more than once the difficulty of maintaining his ground against the rude tribes of the north, so much inferior in strength and numbers to the warlike legions of Peru. But the hazard of the game, as I have already more than once had occasion to remark, constituted its great charm with the Spaniard. The brilliant achievements of his countrymen, on the like occasions, with means so inadequate, inspired him with confidence in his own good star, and this confidence was one source of his success. Had he faltered for a moment, had he stopped to calculate chances, he must inevitably have failed; for the odds were too great to be combated by sober reason. They were only to be met triumphantly by the spirit of the knight-errant.

After crossing the smooth waters of the Piura, the little army continued to advance over a level district intersected by streams that descended from the neighboring Cordilleras. The face of the country was shagged over with forests of gigantic growth, and occasionally traversed by ridges of barren land, that seemed like shoots of the adjacent Andes, breaking up the surface of

the region into little sequestered valleys of singular loveliness. The soil, though rarely watered by the rains of heaven, was naturally rich, and wherever it was refreshed with moisture, as on the margins of the streams, it was enamelled with the brightest verdure. The industry of the inhabitants, moreover, had turned these streams to the best account, and canals and aqueducts were seen crossing the low lands in all directions, and spreading over the country, like a vast net-work, diffusing fertility and beauty around them. The air was scented with the sweet odors of flowers, and everywhere the eye was refreshed by the sight of orchards laden with unknown fruits, and of fields waving with yellow grain and rich in luscious vegetables of every description that teem in the sunny clime of the equator. The Spaniards were among a people who had carried the refinements of husbandry to a greater extent than any yet found on the American continent; and, as they journeyed through this paradise of plenty, their condition formed a pleasing contrast to what they had before endured in the dreary wilderness of the mangroves.

Everywhere, too, they were received with confiding hospitality by the simple people; for which they were no doubt indebted, in a great measure, to their own inoffensive deportment. Every Spaniard seemed to be aware that his only chance of success lay in conciliating the good opinion of the inhabitants among whom he had so recklessly cast his fortunes. In most of the hamlets, and in every place of considerable size, some fortress

was to be found, or royal caravansary, destined for the Inca on his progresses, the ample halls of which furnished abundant accommodations for the Spaniards; who were thus provided with quarters along their route at the charge of the very government which they were preparing to overturn.⁸

On the fifth day after leaving San Miguel, Pizarro halted in one of these delicious valleys, to give his troops repose and to make a more complete inspection of them. Their number amounted in all to one hundred and seventy-seven, of which sixty-seven were cavalry. He mustered only three arquebusiers in his whole company, and a few crossbow-men, altogether not exceeding twenty.⁹ The troops were tolerably well equipped, and in good condition. But the watchful eye of their commander noticed with uneasiness that, notwithstanding the general heartiness in the cause manifested by his followers, there were some among them whose countenances lowered with discontent, and who, although they did not give vent to it in open murmurs, were far from moving with their wonted alacrity. He was aware that if this spirit became contagious it would be the ruin of the enterprise; and he thought it best to exterminate

⁸ Oviedo, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 4.—Naharro, *Relacion sumaria*, MS.—Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.—*Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.

⁹ There is less discrepancy in the estimate of the Spanish force here than usual. The paucity of numbers gave less room for it. No account carries them as high as two hundred. I have adopted that of the secretary Xeres (*Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 187), who has been followed by Oviedo (*Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 1, cap. 3) and by the judicious Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 5, lib. 1, cap. 2.

the gangrene at once, and at whatever cost, than to wait until it had infected the whole system. He came to an extraordinary resolution.

Calling his men together, he told them that "a crisis had now arrived in their affairs, which it demanded all their courage to meet. No man should think of going forward in the expedition who could not do so with his whole heart, or who had the least misgiving as to its success. If any repented of his share in it, it was not too late to turn back. San Miguel was but poorly garrisoned, and he should be glad to see it in greater strength. Those who chose might return to this place, and they should be entitled to the same proportion of lands and Indian vassals as the present residents. With the rest, were they few or many, who chose to take their chance with him, he should pursue the adventure to the end."¹⁰

It was certainly a remarkable proposal for a commander who was ignorant of the amount of disaffection in his ranks, and who could not safely spare a single man from his force, already far too feeble for the undertaking. Yet, by insisting on the wants of the little colony of San Miguel, he afforded a decent pretext for the secession of the malecontents, and swept away the barrier of shame which might have still held them in the

¹⁰ "Que todos los que quiriesen bolverse á la ciudad de San Miguel y avecindarse allí demas de los vecinos que allí quedaban el les depositaria repartimientos de Indios con que se sostubiesen como lo habia hecho con los otros vecinos; é que con los Españoles que quedasen, pocos ó muchos, iria á conquistar é pacificar la tierra en demanda y persecucion del camino que llevaba." Oviedo, Hist. de las Indias, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 3.

camp. Notwithstanding the fair opening thus afforded, there were but few, nine in all, who availed themselves of the general's permission. Four of these belonged to the infantry, and five to the horse. The rest loudly declared their resolve to go forward with their brave leader; and, if there were some whose voices were faint amidst the general acclamation, they at least relinquished the right of complaining hereafter, since they had voluntarily rejected the permission to return.¹¹ This stroke of policy in their sagacious captain was attended with the best effects. He had winnowed out the few grains of discontent which, if left to themselves, might have fermented in secret till the whole mass had swelled into mutiny. Cortés had compelled his men to go forward heartily in his enterprise by burning their vessels and thus cutting off the only means of retreat. Pizarro, on the other hand, threw open the gates to the disaffected and facilitated their departure. Both judged right, under their peculiar circumstances, and both were perfectly successful.

Feeling himself strengthened, instead of weakened, by his loss, Pizarro now resumed his march, and on the second day arrived before a place called Zaran, situated in a fruitful valley among the mountains. Some of the inhabitants had been drawn off to swell the levies of Atahuallpa. The Spaniards had repeated experience on their march of the oppressive exactions of the Inca, who had almost depopulated some of the valleys to obtain

¹¹ Ibid., MS., loc. cit.—Herrera, *Hist. genera.*, dec. 5, lib. 1. cap. 2.
—Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 187.

reinforcements for his army. The curaca of the Indian town where Pizarro now arrived received him with kindness and hospitality, and the troops were quartered as usual in one of the royal *tambos* or caravansaries, which were found in all the principal places.¹²

Yet the Spaniards saw no signs of their approach to the royal encampment, though more time had already elapsed than was originally allowed for reaching it. Shortly before entering Zaran, Pizarro had heard that a Peruvian garrison was established in a place called Caxas, lying among the hills, at no great distance from his present quarters. He immediately despatched a small party under Hernando de Soto in that direction, to reconnoitre the ground, and bring him intelligence of the actual state of things, at Zaran, where he would halt until his officer's return.

Day after day passed on, and a week had elapsed before tidings were received of his companions, and Pizarro was becoming seriously alarmed for their fate, when on the eighth morning Soto appeared, bringing with him an envoy from the Inca himself. He was a person of rank, and was attended by several followers of inferior condition. He had met the Spaniards at Caxas, and now accompanied them on their return, to deliver his sovereign's message, with a present to the Spanish commander. The present consisted of two fountains, made of stone, in the form of fortresses; some fine stuffs of woollen embroidered with gold and silver; and a quantity of

¹² Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.

goose-flesh, dried and seasoned in a peculiar manner, and much used as a perfume, in a pulverized state, by the Peruvian nobles.¹³ The Indian ambassador came charged also with his master's greeting to the strangers, whom Atahualpa welcomed to his country and invited to visit him in his camp among the mountains.¹⁴

Pizarro well understood that the Inca's object in this diplomatic visit was less to do him courtesy than to inform himself of the strength and condition of the invaders. But he was well pleased with the embassy, and dissembled his consciousness of its real purpose. He caused the Peruvian to be entertained in the best manner the camp could afford, and paid him the respect, says one of the Conquerors, due to the ambassador of so great a monarch.¹⁵ Pizarro urged him to pro-

¹³ "Dos Fortaleças, à manera de Fuente, figuradas en Piedra, con que beba, i dos cargas de Patos secos, desollados, para que hechos polvos, se sahume con ellos, porque así se usa entre los Señores de su Tierra: i que le embiaba à decir, que èl tiene voluntad de ser su Amigo, i esperalle de Paz en Caxamalca." Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 189.

¹⁴ Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 3.—*Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.—Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 189.—Garcilasso de la Vega tells us that Atahualpa's envoy addressed the Spanish commander in the most humble and deprecatory manner, as Son of the Sun and of the great God Viracocha. He adds that he was loaded with a prodigious present of all kinds of game, living and dead, gold and silver vases, emeralds, turquoises, etc., etc., enough to furnish out the finest chapter of the Arabian Nights. (*Com. Real.*, Parte 2, lib. 1, cap. 19.) It is extraordinary that none of the Conquerors, who had a quick eye for these dainties, should allude to them. One cannot but suspect that the "old uncle" was amusing himself at his young nephew's expense,—and, as it has proved, at the expense of most of his readers, who receive the Inca's fairy-tales as historic facts.

¹⁵ "I mandò, que le diesen de comer à el, i à los que con èl venian, i todo lo que huviesen menester, i fuesen bien aposentados, como

long his visit for some days, which the Indian envoy declined, but made the most of his time while there, by gleaning all the information he could in respect to the use of every strange article which he saw, as well as the object of the white men's visit to the land, and the quarter whence they came.

The Spanish captain satisfied his curiosity in all these particulars. The intercourse with the natives, it may be here remarked, was maintained by means of two of the youths who had accompanied the Conquerors on their return home from their preceding voyage. They had been taken by Pizarro to Spain, and, as much pains had been bestowed on teaching them the Castilian, they now filled the office of interpreters and opened an easy communication with their countrymen. It was of inestimable service; and well did the Spanish commander reap the fruits of his forecast.¹⁶

On the departure of the Peruvian messenger, Pizarro presented him with a cap of crimson cloth, some cheap but showy ornaments of glass, and other toys, which he had brought for the purpose from Castile. He charged the envoy to tell his master that the Spaniards came from a powerful

Embajadores de tan Gran Señor." Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 189.

¹⁶ "Los Indios de la tierra se entendian muy bien con los Españoles, porque aquellos mochos Indios que en el descubrimiento de la tierra Pizarro truxo á España, entendian muy bien nuestra lengua, y los tenia alli, con los cuales se entendia muy bien con todos los naturales de la tierra." (*Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.) Yet it is a proof of the ludicrous blunders into which the Conquerors were perpetually falling, that Pizarro's secretary constantly confounds the Inca's name with that of his capital. Huayna Capac he always styles "old Cuzco," and his son Huascar "young Cuzco."

prince who dwelt far beyond the waters; that they had heard much of the fame of Atahualpa's victories, and were come to pay their respects to him, and to offer their services by aiding him with their arms against his enemies; and he might be assured they would not halt on the road longer than was necessary, before presenting themselves before him.

Pizarro now received from Soto a full account of his late expedition. That chief, on entering Caxas, found the inhabitants mustered in hostile array, as if to dispute his passage. But the cavalier soon convinced them of his pacific intentions, and, laying aside their menacing attitude, they received the Spaniards with the same courtesy which had been shown them in most places on their march.

Here Soto found one of the royal officers, employed in collecting the tribute for the government. From this functionary he learned that the Inca was quartered with a large army at Caxamalca, a place of considerable size on the other side of the Cordillera, where he was enjoying the luxury of the warm baths, supplied by natural springs, for which it was then famous, as it is at the present day. The cavalier gathered, also, much important information in regard to the resources and the general policy of government, the state maintained by the Inca, and the stern severity with which obedience to the law was everywhere enforced. He had some opportunity of observing this for himself, as, on entering the village, he saw several Indians hanging dead by

their heels, having been executed for some violence offered to the Virgins of the Sun, of whom there was a convent in the neighborhood.¹⁷

From Caxas, De Soto had passed to the adjacent town of Guancabamba, much larger, more populous, and better built than the preceding. The houses, instead of being made of clay baked in the sun, were many of them constructed of solid stone, so nicely put together that it was impossible to detect the line of junction. A river which passed through the town was traversed by a bridge, and the high-road of the Incas which crossed this district was far superior to that which the Spaniards had seen on the sea-board. It was raised in many places, like a causeway, paved with heavy stone flags, and bordered by trees that afforded a grateful shade to the passenger, while streams of water were conducted through aqueducts along the sides to slake his thirst. At certain distances, also, they noticed small houses, which, they were told, were for the accommodation of the traveller, who might thus pass without inconvenience from one end of the kingdom to the other.¹⁸ In another quarter they beheld one of those magazines destined for the army, filled with grain and with articles of

¹⁷ "A la entrada del Pueblo havia ciertos Indios ahorcados de los pies: i supo de este Principal, que Atabalipa los mandò matar, porque uno de ellos entrò en la Casa de las Mugeres à dormir con una: al qual, i à todos los Porteros que consintieron, ahorcò." Xerez, Conq. del Peru, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 188.

¹⁸ "Van por este camino caños de agua de donde los caminantes beben, traldos de sus nacimientos de otras partes, y á cada jornada una Casa á manera de Venta donde se aposentan los que van é vienen." Oviedo, Hist. de las Indias, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 3.

clothing; and at the entrance of the town was a stone building, occupied by a public officer, whose business it was to collect the tolls or duties on various commodities brought into the place or carried out of it.¹⁹ These accounts of De Soto not only confirmed all that the Spaniards had heard of the Indian empire, but greatly raised their ideas of its resources and domestic policy. They might well have shaken the confidence of hearts less courageous.

Pizarro, before leaving his present quarters, despatched a messenger to San Miguel with particulars of his movements, sending at the same time the articles received from the Inca, as well as those obtained at different places on the route. The skill shown in the execution of some of these fabrics sent to Castile excited great admiration there. The fine woollen cloths, especially, with their rich embroidery, were pronounced equal to textures of silk, from which it was not easy to distinguish them. The material was probably the delicate wool of the vicuña, none of which had then been seen in Europe.²⁰

Pizarro, having now acquainted himself with the most direct route to Caxamalca,—the Caxa-

¹⁹ "A la entrada de este Camino en el Pueblo de Cajas esta una casa al principio de una puente donde reside una guarda que recibe el Portazgo de todos los que van é vienen, é paganlo en la misma cosa que llevan, y ninguno puede sacar carga del Pueblo sino la mete, y esta costumbre es alli antigua." Oviedo, *Hist de las Indias*, MS., ubi supra.

²⁰ "Piezas de lana de la tierra, que era cosa mucho de ver segun su primer é gentileza, é no se sabian determinar si era seda ó lana segun su fineza con muchas labores é figuras de oro de martillo de tal manera asentado en la ropa que era cosa de marabillar." Oviedo, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 4.

marca of the present day,*—resumed his march, taking a direction nearly south. The first place of any size at which he halted was Motupe, pleasantly situated in a fruitful valley, among hills of no great elevation, which cluster round the base of the Cordilleras. The place was deserted by its curaca, who, with three hundred of its warriors, had gone to join the standard of their Inca. Here the general, notwithstanding his avowed purpose to push forward without delay, halted four days. The tardiness of his movements can be explained only by the hope which he may still have entertained of being joined by further reinforcements before crossing the Cordilleras. None such appeared, however; and, advancing across a country in which tracts of sandy plain were occasionally relieved by a broad expanse of verdant meadow, watered by natural streams and still more abundantly by those brought through artificial channels, the troops at length arrived at the borders of a river. It was broad and deep, and the rapidity of the current opposed more than ordinary difficulty to the passage. Pizarro, apprehensive lest this might be disputed by the natives on the opposite bank, ordered his brother Hernando to cross over with a small detachment under cover of night and secure a safe landing for the rest of the troops. At break of day Pizarro made preparations for his own passage, by hewing tim-

* [The letter *l*, except in the combination *ll* or *ll*, which is equivalent to the Italian *gl*, is scarcely found in the Quichua—according to Tschudi, only in the word *lampa*, a hoe. The Spaniards supplied the omission by changing *r* to *l* in several names, as Lima for Rimac.—K.]

ber in the neighboring woods and constructing a sort of floating bridge, on which before nightfall the whole company passed in safety, the horses swimming, being led by the bridle. It was a day of severe labor, and Pizarro took his own share in it freely, like a common soldier, having ever a word of encouragement to say to his followers.

On reaching the opposite side, they learned from their comrades that the people of the country, instead of offering resistance, had fled in dismay. One of them, having been taken and brought before Hernando Pizarro, refused to answer the questions put to him respecting the Inca and his army; till, being put to the torture, he stated that Atahualpa was encamped, with his whole force, in three separate divisions, occupying the high grounds and plains of Caxamalca. He further stated that the Inca was aware of the approach of the white men and of their small number, and that he was purposely decoying them into his own quarters, that he might have them more completely in his power.

This account, when reported by Hernando to his brother, caused the latter much anxiety. As the timidity of the peasantry, however, gradually wore off, some of them mingled with the troops, and among them the curaca or principal person of the village. He had himself visited the royal camp, and he informed the general that Atahualpa lay at the strong town of Huamachuco, twenty leagues or more south of Caxamalca, with an army of at least fifty thousand men.

These contradictory statements greatly per-

plexed the chieftain; and he proposed to one of the Indians who had borne him company during a great part of the march, to go as a spy into the Inca's quarters and bring him intelligence of his actual position, and, as far as he could learn them, of his intentions towards the Spaniards. But the man positively declined this dangerous service, though he professed his willingness to go as an authorized messenger of the Spanish commander.

Pizarro acquiesced in this proposal, and instructed his envoy to assure the Inca that he was advancing with all convenient speed to meet him. He was to acquaint the monarch with the uniformly considerate conduct of the Spaniards towards his subjects in their progress through the land, and to assure him that they were now coming in full confidence of finding in him the same amicable feelings towards themselves. The emissary was practically instructed to observe if the strong passes on the road were defended, or if any preparations of a hostile character were to be discerned. This last intelligence he was to communicate to the general by means of two or three nimble-footed attendants who were to accompany him on his mission.²¹

Having taken this precaution, the wary commander again resumed his march, and at the end of three days reached the base of the mountain-rampart behind which lay the ancient town of Caxamalca. Before him rose the stupendous

²¹ Oviedo, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 4.—*Conq. l Pob. del Piru*, MS.—*Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.—*Xerez, Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p 190.

Andes, rock piled upon rock, their skirts below dark with evergreen forests, varied here and there by terraced patches of cultivated garden, with the peasant's cottage clinging to their shaggy sides, and their crests of snow glittering high in the heavens,—presenting altogether such a wild chaos of magnificence and beauty as no other mountain-scenery in the world can show. Across this tremendous rampart, through a labyrinth of passes, easily capable of defence by a handful of men against an army, the troops were now to march. To the right ran a broad and level road, with its border of friendly shades, and wide enough for two carriages to pass abreast. It was one of the great routes leading to Cuzco, and seemed by its pleasant and easy access to invite the wayworn soldier to choose it in preference to the dangerous mountain-defiles. Many were accordingly of opinion that the army should take this course and abandon the original destination to Caxamalca. But such was not the decision of Pizarro.

The Spaniards had everywhere proclaimed their purpose, he said, to visit the Inca in his camp. This purpose had been communicated to the Inca himself. To take an opposite direction now would only be to draw on them the imputation of cowardice, and to incur Atahualpa's contempt. No alternative remained but to march straight across the sierra to his quarters. "Let every one of you," said the bold cavalier, "take heart and go forward like a good soldier, nothing daunted by the smallness of your numbers. For in the great-

est extremity God ever fights for his own; and doubt not he will humble the pride of the heathen, and bring him to the knowledge of the true faith, the great end and object of the Conquest." ²²

Pizarro, like Cortés, possessed a good share of that frank and manly eloquence which touches the heart of the soldier more than the parade of rhetoric or the finest flow of elocution. He was a soldier himself, and partook in all the feelings of the soldier, his joys, his hopes, and his disappointments. He was not raised by rank and education above sympathy with the humblest of his followers. Every chord in their bosoms vibrated with the same pulsations as his own, and the conviction of this gave him a mastery over them. "Lead on," they shouted, as he finished his brief but animating address, "lead on wherever you think best. We will follow with good will, and you shall see that we can do our duty in the cause of God and the King!" ²³ There was no longer hesitation. All thoughts were now bent on the instant passage of the Cordilleras.

²² "Que todos se animasen y esforzasen á hacer como de ellos esperaba y como buenos españoles lo suelen hacer, é que no les pudiese temor la multitud que se decía que habia de gente ni el poco numero de los cristianos, que aunque menos fuesen é mayor el egercito contrario, la ayuda de Dios es mucho mayor, y en las mayores necesidades socorre y faborece a los suyos para desbaratar y abajar la soberbia de los infieles è traerlos en conocimiento de nuestra S^{ta} fe catolica." Oviedo, Hist. de las Indias, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 4.

²³ "Todos digeron que fuese por el Camino que quisiere i viese que mas convenia, que todos le seguirian con buena voluntad é obra al tiempo del efecto, y veria lo que cada uno de ellos haria en servicio de Dios é de su Magestad." Oviedo, Hist. de las Indias, MS., loc. cit.

CHAPTER IV

SEVERE PASSAGE OF THE ANDES—EMBASSIES FROM
ATAHUALLPA — THE SPANIARDS REACH CAXA-
MALCA — EMBASSY TO THE INCA — INTERVIEW
WITH THE INCA — DESPONDENCY OF THE
SPANIARDS

1582

THAT night Pizarro held a council of his principal officers, and it was determined that he should lead the advance, consisting of forty horse and sixty foot, and reconnoitre the ground; while the rest of the company, under his brother Hernando, should occupy their present position till they received further orders.

At early dawn the Spanish general and his detachment were under arms and prepared to breast the difficulties of the sierra. These proved even greater than had been foreseen. The path had been conducted in the most judicious manner round the rugged and precipitous sides of the mountains, so as best to avoid the natural impediments presented by the ground. But it was necessarily so steep, in many places, that the cavalry were obliged to dismount, and, scrambling up as they could, to lead their horses by the bridles. In many places, too, where some huge crag or eminence overhung the road, this was driven to the very verge of the precipice; and the traveller was

compelled to wind along the narrow ledge of rock, scarcely wide enough for his single steed, where a misstep would precipitate him hundreds, nay, thousands of feet into the dreadful abyss! The wild passes of the sierra, practicable for the half-naked Indian, and even for the sure and circum-spect mule,—an animal that seems to have been created for the roads of the Cordilleras,—were formidable to the man-at-arms encumbered with his panoply of mail. The tremendous fissures or *quebradas*, so frightful in this mountain-chain, yawned open, as if the Andes had been split asunder by some terrible convulsion, showing a broad expanse of the primitive rock on their sides, partially mantled over with the spontaneous vegetation of ages; while their obscure depths furnished a channel for the torrents, that, rising in the heart of the sierra, worked their way gradually into light and spread over the savannas and green valleys of the *tierra caliente* on their way to the great ocean.

Many of these passes afforded obvious points of defence; and the Spaniards, as they entered the rocky defiles, looked with apprehension lest they might rouse some foe from his ambush. This apprehension was heightened as, at the summit of a steep and narrow gorge, in which they were engaged, they beheld a strong work, rising like a fortress, and frowning, as it were, in gloomy defiance on the invaders. As they drew near this building, which was of solid stone, commanding an angle of the road, they almost expected to see the dusky forms of the warriors rise over the bat-

lements, and to receive their tempest of missiles on their bucklers; for it was in so strong a position that a few resolute men might easily have held there an army at bay. But they had the satisfaction to find the place untenanted, and their spirits were greatly raised by the conviction that the Indian monarch did not intend to dispute their passage, when it would have been easy to do so with success.

Pizarro now sent orders to his brother to follow without delay, and, after refreshing his men, continued his toilsome ascent, and before nightfall reached an eminence crowned by another fortress, of even greater strength than the preceding. It was built of solid masonry, the lower part excavated from the living rock, and the whole work executed with skill not inferior to that of the European architect.¹

Here Pizarro took up his quarters for the night. Without waiting for the arrival of the rear, on the following morning, he resumed his march, leading still deeper into the intricate gorges of the sierra. The climate had gradually changed, and the men and horses, especially the latter, suffered severely from the cold, so long accustomed as they had been to the sultry climate of the tropics.² The vegetation also had changed its character; and the mag-

¹ "Tan ancha la Cerca como qualquier Fortaleça de España, con sus Puertas: que si en esta Tierra oviese los Maestros, i Herramientas de España, no pudiera ser mejor labrada la Cerca." Xerez, Conq. del Peru, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 192.

² "Es tanto el frio que hace en esta Sierra, que como los Caballos venian hechos al calor, que en los Valles hacia, algunos de ellos se resfriaron." Ibid., p. 191.

nificent timber which covered the lower level of the country had gradually given way to the funereal forest of pine, and, as they rose still higher, to the stunted growth of numberless Alpine plants, whose hardy natures found a congenial temperature in the icy atmosphere of the more elevated regions. These dreary solitudes seemed to be nearly abandoned by the brute creation as well as by man. The light-footed vicuña, roaming in its native state, might be sometimes seen looking down from some airy cliff, where the foot of the hunter dared not venture. But instead of the feathered tribes whose gay plumage sparkled in the deep glooms of the tropical forests, the adventurers now beheld only the great bird of the Andes, the loathsome condor, which, sailing high above the clouds, followed with doleful cries in the track of the army, as if guided by instinct in the path of blood and carnage.

At length they reached the crest of the Cordillera, where it spreads out into a bold and bleak expanse, with scarcely a vestige of vegetation, except what is afforded by the *pajonal*, a dried yellow grass, which, as it is seen from below, encircling the base of the snow-covered peaks, looks, with its brilliant straw-color lighted up in the rays of an ardent sun, like a setting of gold round pinacles of burnished silver. The land was sterile, as usual in mining-districts, and they were drawing near the once famous gold-quarries on the way to Caxamalca:

"Rocks rich in gems, and mountains big with mines,
That on the high equator ridgy rise."

Here Pizarro halted for the coming up of the rear. The air was sharp and frosty; and the soldiers, spreading their tents, lighted fires, and, huddling round them, endeavored to find some repose after their laborious march.³

They had not been long in these quarters, when a messenger arrived, one of those who had accompanied the Indian envoy sent by Pizarro to Atahualpa. He informed the general that the road was free from enemies, and that an embassy from the Inca was on its way to the Castilian camp. Pizarro now sent back to quicken the march of the rear, as he was unwilling that the Peruvian envoy should find him with his present diminished numbers. The rest of the army were not far distant, and not long after reached the encampment.

In a short time the Indian embassy also arrived, which consisted of one of the Inca nobles and several attendants, bringing a welcome present of llamas to the Spanish commander. The Peruvian bore, also, the greetings of his master, who wished to know when the Spaniards would arrive at Caxamalca, that he might provide suitable refreshments for them. Pizarro learned that the Inca had left Huamachuco, and was now lying with a small force in the neighborhood of Caxamalca, at a place celebrated for its natural springs

³ "É aposentaronse los Españoles en sus toldos ó pabellones de algodón de la tierra que llevaban, é haciendo fuegos para defenderse del mucho frío que en aquella Sierra hacen, porque sin ellos no se pudieron valer sin padecer mucho trabajo; y según à los cristianos les pareció, y aun como era lo cierto, no podía haber mas frío en parte de España en invierno." Oviedo, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 4.

of warm water. The Peruvian was an intelligent person, and the Spanish commander gathered from him many particulars respecting the late contests which had distracted the empire.

As the envoy vaunted in lofty terms the military prowess and resources of his sovereign, Pizarro thought it politic to show that it had no power to overawe him. He expressed his satisfaction at the triumphs of Atahualpa, who, he acknowledged, had raised himself high in the rank of Indian warriors. But he was as inferior, he added with more policy than politeness, to the monarch who ruled over the white men, as the petty curacas of the country were inferior to him. This was evident from the ease with which a few Spaniards had overrun this great continent, subduing one nation after another that had offered resistance to their arms. He had been led by the fame of Atahualpa to visit his dominions and to offer him his services in his wars, and, if he were received by the Inca in the same friendly spirit with which he came, he was willing, for the aid he could render him, to postpone awhile his passage across the country to the opposite seas. The Indian, according to the Castilian accounts, listened with awe to this strain of glorification from the Spanish commander. Yet it is possible that the envoy was a better diplomatist than they imagined, and that he understood it was only the game of brag at which he was playing with his more civilized antagonist.⁴

⁴ Xeres, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 193.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 5.

On the succeeding morning, at an early hour, the troops were again on their march, and for two days were occupied in threading the airy defiles of the Cordilleras. Soon after beginning their descent on the eastern side, another emissary arrived from the Inca, bearing a message of similar import to the preceding, and a present, in like manner, of Peruvian sheep. This was the same noble that had visited Pizarro in the valley. He now came in more state, quaffing *chicha*—the fermented juice of the maize—from golden goblets borne by his attendants, which sparkled in the eyes of the rapacious adventurers.⁵ *

While he was in the camp, the Indian messenger, originally sent by Pizarro to the Inca, returned, and no sooner did he behold the Peruvian, and the honorable reception which he met with from the Spaniards, than he was filled with

“Este Embajador trala servicio de Señor, i cinco ò seis Vasos de Oro fino, con que bebia, i con ellos daba à beber à los Españoles de la Chicha que trala.” Xerez, Conq. del Peru, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 193.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Indias, MS., ubi supra.—The latter author, in this part of his work, has done little more than make a transcript of that of Xerez. His endorsement of Pizarro's secretary, however, is of value, from the fact that, with less temptation to mistate or overstate, he enjoyed excellent opportunities for information.

* [The usual method for preparing the *jora*, or dried grain, for its manufacture into *chicha* is to crush it between two stones. This applies only to the ordinary beverage. For the choicer *chicha mascada* the grain is *masticated*, usually by the Indian women. One may see this process going on in almost any of the villages among the mountains. Occasionally a “bee,” similar to the husking bees of North America, is arranged. A group of men and women seat themselves around a heap of *jora* and straightway proceed to *chew it up*, ejecting the crushed grain from their mouths into a common receptacle. The mass is then boiled and left to ferment. Notwithstanding the superior flavor of the *chicha mascada*, the average traveller is likely to be satisfied with the ordinary article.—M.]

wrath, which would have vented itself in personal violence, but for the interposition of the by-standers. It was hard, he said, that this Peruvian dog should be thus courteously treated, when he himself had nearly lost his life on a similar mission among his countrymen. On reaching the Inca's camp he had been refused admission to his presence, on the ground that he was keeping a fast and could not be seen. They had paid no respect to his assertion that he came as an envoy from the white men, and would, probably, not have suffered him to escape with life, if he had not assured them that any violence offered to him would be retaliated in full measure on the persons of the Peruvian envoys now in the Spanish quarters. There was no doubt, he continued, of the hostile intentions of Atahualpa; for he was surrounded with a powerful army, strongly encamped about a league from Caxamalca, while that city was entirely evacuated by its inhabitants.

To all this the Inca's envoy coolly replied that Pizarro's messenger might have reckoned on such a reception as he had found, since he seemed to have taken with him no credentials of his mission. As to the Inca's fast, that was true; and, although he would doubtless have seen the messenger had he known there was one from the strangers, yet it was not safe to disturb him at these solemn seasons, when engaged in his religious duties. The troops by whom he was surrounded were not numerous, considering that the Inca was at that time carrying on an important war; and as to Caxamalca, it was abandoned by the inhabitants in

order to make room for the white men, who were so soon to occupy it.⁶

This explanation, however plausible, did not altogether satisfy the general; for he had too deep a conviction of the cunning of Atahualpa, whose intentions towards the Spaniards he had long greatly distrusted. As he proposed, however, to keep on friendly relations with the monarch for the present, it was obviously not his cue to manifest suspicion. Affecting, therefore, to give full credit to the explanation of the envoy, he dismissed him with reiterated assurances of speedily presenting himself before the Inca.

The descent of the sierra, though the Andes are less precipitous on their eastern side than towards the west, was attended with difficulties almost equal to those of the upward march; and the Spaniards felt no little satisfaction when, on the seventh day, they arrived in view of the valley of Caxamalca, which, enamelled with all the beauties of cultivation, lay unrolled like a rich and variegated carpet of verdure, in strong contrast with the dark forms of the Andes, that rose up everywhere around it. The valley is of an oval shape, extending about five leagues in length by three in breadth. It was inhabited by a population of a superior character to any which the Spaniards had met on the other side of the mountains, as was argued by the superior style of their attire and the greater cleanliness and comfort visible both in their persons and dwellings.⁷ As far as

⁶ Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 194.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., ubi supra.

⁷ Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 195.

the eye could reach, the level tract exhibited the show of a diligent and thrifty husbandry. A broad river rolled through the meadows, supplying facilities for copious irrigation by means of the usual canals and subterraneous aqueducts. The land, intersected by verdant hedge-rows, was checkered with patches of various cultivation; for the soil was rich, and the climate, if less stimulating than that of the sultry regions of the coast, was more favorable to the hardy products of the temperate latitudes. Below the adventurers, with its white houses glittering in the sun, lay the little city of Caxamalca,* like a sparkling gem on the dark skirts of the sierra. At the distance of about a league farther, across the valley, might be seen columns of vapor rising up towards the heavens, indicating the place of the famous hot-baths, much frequented by the Peruvian princes. And here, too, was a spectacle less grateful to the eyes of the Spaniards; for along the slope of the hills a white cloud of pavilions was seen covering the ground, as thick as snow-flakes, for the space, apparently, of several miles. "It filled us all with amazement," exclaims one of the Conquerors, "to behold the Indians occupying so proud a position! So many tents, so well appointed, as were never seen in the Indies till now! The spectacle caused something like confusion and even fear in

* [The description of Caxamalca given by the Secretary of Pizarro is much more minute than any that he, or indeed any other of the Conquerors, gives of other places. When their eyes had become accustomed to the startling civilization of the land, the Spaniards ceased to commit their impressions to writing. They were always prone to exaggerations. Xerez says the plaza was larger than any in Spain!—M.]

the stoutest bosom. But it was too late to turn back, or to betray the least sign of weakness, since the natives in our own company would, in such case, have been the first to rise upon us. So, with as bold a countenance as we could, after coolly surveying the ground, we prepared for our entrance into Caxamalca."⁸

What were the feelings of the Peruvian monarch we are not informed, when he gazed on the martial cavalcade of the Christians, as, with banners streaming, and bright panoplies glistening in the rays of the evening sun, it emerged from the dark depths of the sierra and advanced in hostile array over the fair domain which, to this period, had never been trodden by other foot than that of the red man. It might be, as several of the reports had stated, that the Inca had purposely decoyed the adventurers into the heart of his populous empire, that he might envelop them with his legions and the more easily become master of their property and persons.⁹ Or was it from a natural feel-

⁸ "Y eran tantas las tiendas que parecian, que cierto nos puso harto espanto, porque no pensabamos que Indios pudiesen tener tan soberbia estancia, ni tantas tiendas, ni tan á punto, lo cual hasta alli en las Indias nunca se vió, que nos causó á todos los Españoles harta confusion y temor; aunque no convenia mostrarse, ni menos volver atras, porque si alguna flaqueza en nosotros sintieran, los mismos Indios que llevabamos nos mataran, y ansi con animoso semblante, despues de haber muy bien atalayado el pueblo y tiendas que he dicho, abajamos por el valle abajo, y entramos en el pueblo de Cajamalca." *Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.

⁹ This was evidently the opinion of the old Conqueror, whose imperfect manuscript forms one of the best authorities for this portion of our narrative: "Teniendonos en muy poco, y no haciendo cuenta que 190 hombres le habian de ofender, dió lugar y consintió que pasásemos por aquel paso y por otros muchos tan malos como él, porque realmente, á lo que despues se supo y averiguó, su intencion era vernos y preguntarnos, de donde veniamos? y quien nos habia he-

ing of curiosity, and relying on their professions of friendship, that he had thus allowed them, without any attempt at resistance, to come into his presence? At all events, he could hardly have felt such confidence in himself as not to look with apprehension, mingled with awe, on the mysterious strangers, who, coming from an unknown world and possessed of such wonderful gifts, had made their way across mountain and valley in spite of every obstacle which man and nature had opposed to them.

Pizarro, meanwhile, forming his little corps into three divisions, now moved forward, at a more measured pace, and in order of battle, down the slopes that led towards the Indian city. As he drew near, no one came out to welcome him; and he rode through the streets without meeting with a living thing, or hearing a sound, except the echoes, sent back from the deserted dwellings, of the tramp of the soldiery.

It was a place of considerable size, containing about ten thousand inhabitants,* somewhat more, probably, than the population assembled at this day within the walls of the modern city of Caxamalca.¹⁰ The houses, for the most part, were built

chado allí? y que queríamos? Porque era muy sabio y discreto, y aunque sin luz ni escriptura, amigo de saber y de sutil entendimiento; y despues de holgádose con nosotros, tomarnos los caballos y las cosas que á el mas le aplacian, y sacrificar á los demas." *Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.

¹⁰ According to Stevenson, this population, which is of a very mixed character, amounts, or did amount some thirty years ago, to about seven thousand. That sagacious traveller gives an animated description of the city, in which he resided some time, and which he seems to have regarded with peculiar predilection. Yet it does not

* [Xerez says two thousand.—M.]

of clay, hardened in the sun; the roofs thatched or of timber. Some of the more ambitious dwellings were of hewn stone; and there was a convent in the place, occupied by the Virgins of the Sun, and a temple dedicated to the same tutelar deity, which last was hidden in the deep embowering shades of a grove on the skirts of the city. On the quarter towards the Indian camp was a square—if square it might be called, which was almost triangular in form—of an immense size, surrounded by low buildings. These consisted of capacious halls, with wide doors or openings communicating with the square. They were probably intended as a sort of barracks for the Inca's soldiers.¹¹ At the end of the *plaza*, looking towards the country, was a fortress of stone, with a stairway leading from the city, and a private entrance from the adjoining suburbs. There was still another fortress on the rising ground which commanded the town, built of hewn stone and encompassed by three circular walls,—or rather one and the same wall, which wound up spirally around it. It was a place of great strength, and the workmanship showed a better knowledge of masonry, and gave a higher impression of the architectural science of the people, than any thing the Spaniards had yet seen.¹²

hold probably the relative rank at the present day that it did in that of the Incas. Residence in South America, vol. ii. p. 131.

¹¹ Carta de Hern. Pizarro, ap. Oviedo, Hist. de las Indias, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 15.—Xerez, Conq. del Peru, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 195.

¹² "Fuerças son, que entre Indios no se han visto tales." Xerez, Conq. del Peru, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 195.—Relacion del primer Descub., MS.

It was late in the afternoon of the fifteenth of November, 1582, when the Conquerors entered the city of Caxamalca. The weather, which had been fair during the day, now threatened a storm, and some rain mingled with hail—for it was unusually cold—began to fall.¹³ Pizarro, however, was so anxious to ascertain the dispositions of the Inca that he determined to send an embassy at once to his quarters. He selected for this Hernando de Soto with fifteen horse, and, after his departure, conceiving that the number was too small in case of any unfriendly demonstrations by the Indians, he ordered his brother Hernando to follow with twenty additional troopers. This captain and one other of his party have left us an account of the excursion.¹⁴

Between the city and the imperial camp was a causeway, built in a substantial manner across the meadowland that intervened. Over this the cavalry galloped at a rapid pace, and before they had gone a league they came in front of the Peru-

¹³ "Desde à poco rato començo à llover, i caer graniço." (Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 195.) Caxamalca, in the Indian tongue, signifies "place of frost;" for the temperature, though usually bland and genial, is sometimes affected by frosty winds from the east, very pernicious to vegetation. Stevenson, *Residence in South America*, vol. ii. p. 199.

¹⁴ Carta de Hern. Pizarro, MS.—The Letter of Hernando Pizarro, addressed to the Royal Audience of St. Domingo, gives a full account of the extraordinary events recorded in this and the ensuing chapter, in which that cavalier took a prominent part. Allowing for the partialities incident to a chief actor in the scenes he describes, no authority can rank higher. The indefatigable Oviedo, who resided in St. Domingo, saw its importance, and fortunately incorporated the document in his great work, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 15.—The anonymous author of the *Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS., was also detached on this service.

vian encampment, where it spread along the gentle slope of the mountains. The lances of the warriors were fixed in the ground before their tents, and the Indian soldiers were loitering without, gazing with silent astonishment at the Christian cavalcade, as with clangor of arms and shrill blast of trumpet it swept by, like some fearful apparition on the wings of the wind.

The party soon came to a broad but shallow stream, which, winding through the meadow, formed a defence for the Inca's position. Across it was a wooden bridge; but the cavaliers, distrusting its strength, preferred to dash through the waters, and without difficulty gained the opposite bank. A battalion of Indian warriors was drawn up under arms on the farther side of the bridge, but they offered no molestation to the Spaniards; and these latter had strict orders from Pizarro—scarcely necessary in their present circumstances—to treat the natives with courtesy. One of the Indians pointed out the quarter occupied by the Inca.¹⁵

It was an open court-yard, with a light building or pleasure-house in the centre, having galleries running round it, and opening in the rear on a garden. The walls were covered with a shining plaster, both white and colored, and in the area before the edifice was seen a spacious tank or reservoir of stone, fed by aqueducts that supplied it with both warm and cold water.¹⁶ A basin of

¹⁵ Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—Carta de Hern. Pizarro, MS.

¹⁶ Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 202.—“Y al estanque venian dos caños de agua, uno caliente y otro frio, y alli se

hewn stone—it may be of a more recent construction—still bears, on the spot, the name of the “Inca’s bath.”¹⁷ The court was filled with Indian nobles, dressed in gayly-ornamented attire, in attendance on the monarch, and with women of the royal household. Amidst this assembly it was not difficult to distinguish the person of Atahualpa, though his dress was simpler than that of his attendants. But he wore on his head the crimson *borla* or fringe, which, surrounding the forehead, hung down as low as the eyebrow. This was the well-known badge of Peruvian sovereignty, and had been assumed by the monarch only since the defeat of his brother Huascar. He was seated on a low stool or cushion, somewhat after the Morisco or Turkish fashion, and his nobles and principal officers stood around him with great ceremony, holding the stations suited to their rank.¹⁸

The Spaniards gazed with much interest on the prince, of whose cruelty and cunning they had

templava la una con la otra, para quando el Señor se queria bañar ó sus mugeres que otra persona no osava entrar en el so pena de la vida.” Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

¹⁷ Stevenson, Residence in South America, vol. ii. p. 164.

¹⁸ Xerez, Conq. del Peru, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 196.—Carta de Hern. Pizarro, MS.—The appearance of the Peruvian monarch is described in simple but animated style by the Conqueror so often quoted, one of the party: “Llegados al patio de la dicha casa que tenia delante della, vimos estar en medio de gran muchedumbre de Indios asentado aquel gran Señor Atabalica (de quien tanta noticia, y tantas cosas nos habian dicho) con una corona en la cabeza, y una borla que le salia della, y le cubria toda la frente, la cual era la insinia real, sentado en una sillecita muy baja del suelo, como los turcos y moros acostumbran sentarse, el cual estaba con tanta magestad y aparato cual nunca se ha visto jamas, porque estaba cercado de mas de seiscientos Señores de su tierra.” Relacion del primer Descub., MS.

heard so much, and whose valor had secured to him the possession of the empire. But his countenance exhibited neither the fierce passions nor the sagacity which had been ascribed to him; and, though in his bearing he showed a gravity and a calm consciousness of authority well becoming a king, he seemed to discharge all expression from his features, and to discover only the apathy so characteristic of the American races. On the present occasion this must have been in part, at least, assumed. For it is impossible that the Indian prince should not have contemplated with curious interest a spectacle so strange, and, in some respects, appalling, as that of these mysterious strangers, for which no previous description could have prepared him.

Hernando Pizarro and Soto, with two or three only of their followers, slowly rode up in front of the Inca; and the former, making a respectful obeisance, but without dismounting, informed Atahualpa that he came as an ambassador from his brother, the commander of the white men, to acquaint the monarch with their arrival in his city of Caxamalca. They were the subjects of a mighty prince across the waters, and had come, he said, drawn thither by the report of his great victories, to offer their services, and to impart to him the doctrines of the true faith which they professed; and he brought an invitation from the general to Atahualpa that the latter would be pleased to visit the Spaniards in their present quarters.

To all this the Inca answered not a word; nor
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did he make even a sign of acknowledgment that he comprehended it; though it was translated for him by Felipillo, one of the interpreters already noticed. He remained silent, with his eyes fastened on the ground; but one of his nobles, standing by his side, answered, "It is well."¹⁹ This was an embarrassing situation for the Spaniards, who seemed to be as far from ascertaining the real disposition of the Peruvian monarch towards themselves as when the mountains were between them.

In a courteous and respectful manner, Hernando Pizarro again broke the silence by requesting the Inca to speak to them himself and to inform them what was his pleasure.²⁰ To this Atahualpa condescended to reply, while a faint smile passed over his features, "Tell your captain that I am keeping a fast, which will end tomorrow morning. I will then visit him, with my chieftains. In the mean time, let him occupy the public buildings on the square, and no other, till I come, when I will order what shall be done."²¹

"Las cuales por él oídas, con ser su inclinacion preguntarnos y saber de donde veníamos, y que queríamos, y ver nuestras personas y caballos, tubo tanta serenidad en el rostro, y tanta gravedad en su persona, que no quiso responder palabra á lo que se le decía, salvo que un Señor de aquellos que estaban par de él respondía: bien está." *Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.

"Visto por el dicho Hernando Pizarro que él no hablaba, y que aquella tercera persona respondía de suyo, tornó le á suplicar, que el hablase por su boca, y le respondiese lo que quisiese." *Ibid.*, MS., ubi supra.

"El cual á esto volvió la cabeza á mirarle sonriendose y le dijo: Decid á ese Capitan que os embia acá; que yo estoy en ayuno, y le acabo mañana por la mañana, que en bebiendo una vez, yo iré con algunos destos principales míos á verme con él, que en tanto él se aposente en esas casas que estan en la plaza que son comunes á

Soto, one of the party present at this interview, as before noticed, was the best mounted and perhaps the best rider in Pizarro's troop. Observing that Atahualpa looked with some interest on the fiery steed that stood before him, clamping the bit and pawing the ground with the natural impatience of a war-horse, the Spaniard gave him the rein, and, striking his iron heel into his side, dashed furiously over the plain, then, wheeling him round and round, displayed all the beautiful movements of his charger, and his own excellent horsemanship. Suddenly checking him in full career, he brought the animal almost on his haunches, so near the person of the Inca that some of the foam that flecked his horse's side was thrown on the royal garments. But Atahualpa maintained the same marble composure as before, though several of his soldiers, whom De Soto passed in the course, were so much disconcerted by it that they drew back in manifest terror,—an act of timidity for which they paid dearly, *if*, as the Spaniards assert, Atahualpa caused them to be put to death that same evening for betraying such unworthy weakness to the strangers.²²

todos, y que no entren en otra ninguna hasta que Yo vaya, que Yo mandaré lo que se ha de hacer." *Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS., ubi supra.—In this singular interview I have followed the account of the cavalier who accompanied Hernando Pizarro, in preference to that of the latter, who represents himself as talking in a lordly key, that savors too much of the vaunt of the hidalgo.

* Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—*Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.—"I algunos Indios, con miedo, se desviaron de la Carrera, por lo qual Atabalipa los hizo luego matar." (*Zarate, Conq. del Peru*, lib. 2, cap. 4.)—Xerez states that Atahualpa confessed this himself, in conversation with the Spaniards after he was taken prisoner.—Soto's charger might well have made the Indians start, if, as

Refreshments were now offered by the royal attendants to the Spaniards, which they declined, being unwilling to dismount. They did not refuse, however, to quaff the sparkling chicha from golden vases of extraordinary size, presented to them by the dark-eyed beauties of the harem.²³ Taking then a respectful leave of the Inca, the cavaliers rode back to Caxamalca, with many moody speculations on what they had seen: on the state and opulence of the Indian monarch; on the strength of his military array, their excellent appointments, and the apparent discipline in their ranks,—all arguing a much higher degree of civilization, and consequently of power, than any thing they had witnessed in the lower regions of the country. As they contrasted all this with their own diminutive force, too far advanced, as they now were, for succor to reach them, they felt they had done rashly in throwing themselves into the midst of so formidable an empire, and were filled with gloomy forebodings of the result.²⁴ Their

Balboa says, he took twenty feet at a leap, and this with a knight in armor on his back! *Hist. du Pérou*, cap. 22.

²³ *Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.—Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 196.

²⁴ “Hecho esto y visto y atalayado la grandesa del ejercito, y las tiendas que era bien de ver, nos bolvimos á donde el dicho capitan nos estaba esperando, harto espantados de lo que habiamos visto, habiendo y tomando entre nosotros muchos acuerdos y opiniones de lo que se debia hacer, estando todos con mucho temor por ser tan pocos, y estar tan metidos en la tierra donde no podiamos ser socorridos.” (*Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.) Pedro Pizarro is honest enough to confirm this account of the consternation of the Spaniards. (*Descub. y Conq.*, MS.) Fear was a strange sensation for the Castilian cavalier. But if he did not feel some touch of it on that occasion, he must have been akin to that doughty knight who, as Charles V. pronounced, “never could have snuffed a candle with his fingers.”

comrades in the camp soon caught the infectious spirit of despondency, which was not lessened as night came on, and they beheld the watch-fires of the Peruvians lighting up the sides of the mountains and glittering in the darkness, "as thick," says one who saw them, "as the stars of heaven."²⁵

Yet there was one bosom in that little host which was not touched with the feeling either of fear or dejection. That was Pizarro's, who secretly rejoiced that he had now brought matters to the issue for which he had so long panted. He saw the necessity of kindling a similar feeling in his followers, or all would be lost. Without unfolding his plans, he went round among his men, beseeching them not to show faint hearts at this crisis, when they stood face to face with the foe whom they had been so long seeking. "They were to rely on themselves, and on that Providence which had carried them safe through so many fearful trials. It would not now desert them; and if numbers, however great, were on the side of their enemy, it mattered little, when the arm of Heaven was on theirs."²⁶ The Spanish cavalier acted under the combined influence of chivalrous adventure and religious zeal. The latter was the more effective in the hour of peril; and Pizarro, who understood well the characters he had to deal with, by presenting the enterprise as

²⁵ "Hecimos la guardia en la plaza, de donde se vián los fuegos del ejército de los Indios, lo cual era cosa espantable, que como estaban en una ladera la mayor parte, y tan juntos unos de otros, no parecia sino un cielo muy estrellado." *Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.

²⁶ Xerez, *Conq. del Peru* ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 197.—Naharro, *Relacion sumaria*, MS.

a crusade, kindled the dying embers of enthusiasm in the bosoms of his followers, and restored their faltering courage.

He then summoned a council of his officers, to consider the plan of operations, or rather to propose to them the extraordinary plan on which he had himself decided. This was to lay an ambuscade for the Inca and take him prisoner in the face of his whole army! It was a project full of peril, —bordering, as it might well seem, on desperation. But the circumstances of the Spaniards were desperate. Whichever way they turned, they were menaced by the most appalling dangers; and better was it bravely to confront the danger than weakly to shrink from it, when there was no avenue for escape.

To fly was now too late. Whither could they fly? At the first signal of retreat, the whole army of the Inca would be upon them. Their movements would be anticipated by a foe far better acquainted with the intricacies of the sierra than themselves; the passes would be occupied, and they would be hemmed in on all sides; while the mere fact of this retrograde movement would diminish their confidence and with it their effective strength, while it doubled that of their enemy.

Yet to remain long inactive in their present position seemed almost equally perilous. Even supposing that Atahualpa should entertain friendly feelings towards the Christians, they could not confide in the continuance of such feelings. Familiarity with the white men would soon destroy the idea of any thing supernatural, or even supe-

rior, in their natures. He would feel contempt for their diminutive numbers. Their horses, their arms and showy appointments, would be an attractive bait in the eye of the barbaric monarch, and when conscious that he had the power to crush their possessors he would not be slow in finding a pretext for it. A sufficient one had already occurred in the high-handed measures of the Conquerors on their march through his dominions.

But what reason had they to flatter themselves that the Inca cherished such a disposition towards them? He was a crafty and unscrupulous prince, and, if the accounts they had repeatedly received on their march were true, had ever regarded the coming of the Spaniards with an evil eye. It was scarcely possible he should do otherwise. His soft messages had only been intended to decoy them across the mountains, where, with the aid of his warriors, he might readily overpower them. They were entangled in the toils which the cunning monarch had spread for them.

Their only remedy, then, was to turn the Inca's arts against himself; to take him, if possible, in his own snare. There was no time to be lost; for any day might bring back the victorious legions who had recently won his battles at the south, and thus make the odds against the Spaniards far greater than now.

Yet to encounter Atahualpa in the open field would be attended with great hazard; and, even if victorious, there would be little probability that the person of the Inca, of so much importance, would fall into their hands. The invitation he

had so unsuspectingly accepted to visit them in their quarters afforded the best means for securing this desirable prize. Nor was the enterprise so desperate, considering the great advantages afforded by the character and weapons of the invaders and the unexpectedness of the assault. The mere circumstance of acting on a concerted plan would alone make a small number more than a match for a much larger one. But it was not necessary to admit the whole of the Indian force into the city before the attack; and the person of the Inca once secured, his followers, astounded by so strange an event, were they few or many, would have no heart for further resistance; and with the Inca once in his power, Pizarro might dictate laws to the empire.

In this daring project of the Spanish chief it was easy to see that he had the brilliant exploit of Cortés in his mind when he carried off the Aztec monarch in his capital. But that was not by violence,—at least not by open violence,—and it received the sanction, compulsory though it were, of the monarch himself. It was also true that the results in that case did not altogether justify a repetition of the experiment, since the people rose in a body to sacrifice both the prince and his kidnappers. Yet this was owing, in part at least, to the indiscretion of the latter. The experiment in the outset was perfectly successful; and could Pizarro once become master of the person of Atahualpa he trusted to his own discretion for the rest. It would at least extricate him from his present critical position, by placing in his power

an inestimable guarantee for his safety; and if he could not make his own terms with the Inca at once, the arrival of reinforcements from home would, in all probability, soon enable him to do so.

Pizarro having concerted his plans for the following day, the council broke up, and the chief occupied himself with providing for the security of the camp during the night. The approaches to the town were defended; sentinels were posted at different points, especially on the summit of the fortress, where they were to observe the position of the enemy and to report any movement that menaced the tranquillity of the night. After these precautions, the Spanish commander and his followers withdrew to their appointed quarters,—but not to sleep. At least, sleep must have come late to those who were aware of the decisive plan for the morrow; that morrow which was to be the crisis of their fate,—to crown their ambitious schemes with full success, or consign them to irretrievable ruin!

CHAPTER V

DESPERATE PLAN OF PIZARRO—ATAHUALLPA VISITS
THE SPANIARDS — HORRIBLE MASSACRE — THE
INCA A PRISONER—CONDUCT OF THE CONQUER-
ORS—SPLENDID PROMISES OF THE INCA—DEATH
OF HUASCAR

1532

THE clouds of the evening had passed away, and the sun rose bright on the following morning, the most memorable epoch in the annals of Peru. It was Saturday, the sixteenth of November, 1532. The loud cry of the trumpet called the Spaniards to arms with the first streak of dawn; and Pizarro, briefly acquainting them with the plan of the assault, made the necessary dispositions.

The *plaza*, as mentioned in the preceding chapter, was defended on its three sides by low ranges of buildings, consisting of spacious halls with wide doors or vomitories opening into the square. In these halls he stationed his cavalry in two divisions, one under his brother Hernando, the other under De Soto. The infantry he placed in another of the buildings, reserving twenty chosen men to act with himself as occasion might require. Pedro de Candia, with a few soldiers and the artillery, —comprehending under this imposing name two small pieces of ordnance, called falconets,—he established in the fortress. All received orders

to wait at their posts till the arrival of the Inca. After his entrance into the great square, they were still to remain under cover, withdrawn from observation, till the signal was given by the discharge of a gun, when they were to cry their war-cries, to rush out in a body from their covert, and, putting the Peruvians to the sword, bear off the person of the Inca. The arrangement of the immense halls, opening on a level with the *plaza*, seemed to be contrived on purpose for a *coup de théâtre*. Pizarro particularly inculcated order and implicit obedience, that in the hurry of the moment there should be no confusion. Everything depended on their acting with concert, coolness, and celerity.¹

The chief next saw that their arms were in good order, and that the breastplates of their horses were garnished with bells, to add by their noise to the consternation of the Indians. Refreshments were, also, liberally provided, that the troops should be in condition for the conflict. These arrangements being completed, mass was performed with great solemnity by the ecclesiastics who attended the expedition; the God of battles was invoked to spread his shield over the soldiers who were fighting to extend the empire of the Cross; and all joined with enthusiasm in the chant, "*Exsurge, Domine*," "Rise, O Lord! and judge thine own cause."² One might have

¹ Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Relacion del primer Descub., MS.—Xerez, Conq. del Peru, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 197.—Carta de Hern. Pizarro, MS.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Indias, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 7.

² "Los Eclesiasticos i Religiosos se ocuparon toda aquella noche en oracion, pidiendo á Dios el mas conveniente suceso á su sagrado

supposed them a company of martyrs about to lay down their lives in defence of their faith, instead of a licentious band of adventurers meditating one of the most atrocious acts of perfidy on the record of history! Yet, whatever were the vices of the Castilian cavalier, hypocrisy was not among the number. He felt that he was battling for the Cross, and under this conviction, exalted as it was at such a moment as this into the predominant impulse, he was blind to the baser motives which mingled with the enterprise. With feelings thus kindled to a flame of religious ardor, the soldiers of Pizarro looked forward with renovated spirits to the coming conflict; and the chieftain saw with satisfaction that in the hour of trial his men would be true to their leader and themselves.

It was late in the day before any movement was visible in the Peruvian camp, where much preparation was making to approach the Christian quarters with due state and ceremony. A message was received from Atahuallpa, informing the Spanish commander that he should come with his warriors fully armed, in the same manner as the Spaniards had come to his quarters the night preceding. This was not an agreeable intimation to Pizarro, though he had no reason, probably, to expect the contrary. But to object might imply dis-

servicio, exaltacion de la fé é salvacion de tanto numero de almas, derramando muchas lagrimas i sangre en las disciplinas que tomaron. Francisco Pizarro animó á los soldados con una mui cristiana platica que les hizo: con que, i asegurarles los Ecclesiasticos de parte de Dios i de su Madre Santisima la vitoria, amanecieron todos mui descosos de dar la batalla, diciendo á voces, Exsurge Domine, et judica causam tuam." Naharro, Relacion sumaria, MS.

trust, or perhaps disclose, in some measure, his own designs. He expressed his satisfaction, therefore, at the intelligence, assuring the Inca that, come as he would, he would be received by him as a friend and brother.³

It was noon before the Indian procession was on its march, when it was seen occupying the great causeway for a long extent. In front came a large body of attendants, whose office seemed to be to sweep away every particle of rubbish from the road. High above the crowd appeared the Inca, borne on the shoulders of his principal nobles, while others of the same rank marched by the sides of his litter, displaying such a dazzling show of ornaments on their persons that, in the language of one of the Conquerors, "they blazed like the sun."⁴ But the greater part of the Inca's forces mustered along the fields that lined the road, and were spread over the broad meadows as far as the eye could reach.⁵

When the royal procession had arrived within

³ "El governador respondió: Di à tu Señor, que venga en hora buena como quisiere, que de la manera que viniere lo recebiré como Amigo, i Hermano." Xerez, Conq. del Peru, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 197.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Indias, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 7.—Carta de Hern. Pizarro, MS.

⁴ "Hera tanta la pateneria que traian d'oro y plata que hera cossa estraña lo que reluzia con el Sol." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

⁵ "To the eye of the old Conqueror so often quoted, the number of Peruvian warriors appeared not less than 50,000; "mas de cincuenta mil que tenia de guerra." (Relacion del primer Descub., MS.) To Pizarro's secretary, as they lay encamped among the hills, they seemed about 30,000. (Xerez, Conq. del Peru, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 196.) However gratifying to the imagination to repose on some precise number, it is very rarely that one can do so with safety in estimating the irregular and tumultuous levies of a barbarian host.

half a mile of the city, it came to a halt; and Pizarro saw with surprise that Atahualpa was preparing to pitch his tents, as if to encamp there. A messenger soon after arrived, informing the Spaniards that the Inca would occupy his present station the ensuing night, and enter the city on the following morning.

This intelligence greatly disturbed Pizarro, who had shared in the general impatience of his men at the tardy movements of the Peruvians. The troops had been under arms since daylight, the cavalry mounted, and the infantry at their post, waiting in silence the coming of the Inca. A profound stillness reigned throughout the town, broken only at intervals by the cry of the sentinel from the summit of the fortress, as he proclaimed the movements of the Indian army. Nothing, Pizarro well knew, was so trying to the soldier as prolonged suspense, in a critical situation like the present; and he feared lest his ardor might evaporate, and be succeeded by that nervous feeling natural to the bravest soul at such a crisis, and which, if not fear, is near akin to it.⁶ He returned an answer, therefore, to Atahualpa, deprecating his change of purpose, and adding that he had provided every thing for his entertainment, and expected him that night to sup with him.⁷

⁶ Pedro Pizarro says that an Indian spy reported to Atahualpa that the white men were all huddled together in the great halls on the square, in much consternation, *llenos de miedo*,—which was not far from the truth, adds the cavalier. (Descub. y Conq., MS.)

⁷ Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS. "Asentados sus toldos envió á decir al gobernador que ya era tarde, que él queria dormir allí, que por la mañana vernía: el gobernador le envió á decir que le

This message turned the Inca from his purpose; and, striking his tents again, he resumed his march, first advising the general that he should leave the greater part of his warriors behind, and enter the place with only a few of them, and without arms,⁸ as he preferred to pass the night at Caxamalca. At the same time he ordered accommodations to be provided for himself and his retinue in one of the large stone buildings, called, from a serpent sculptured on the walls, "The House of the Serpent."⁹ No tidings could have been more grateful to the Spaniards. It seemed as if the Indian monarch was eager to rush into the snare that had been spread for him! The fanatical cavalier could not fail to discern in it the immediate finger of Providence.

It is difficult to account for this wavering conduct of Atahualpa, so different from the bold and decided character which history ascribes to him. There is no doubt that he made his visit to the white men in perfect good faith; though Pizarro was probably right in conjecturing that this amiable disposition stood on a very precarious footing. There is as little reason to suppose that he distrusted the sincerity of the strangers; or he would not thus unnecessarily have proposed to visit them unarmed. His original purpose of coming

rogaba que viniese luego, porque le esperaba á cenar, é que no habia de cenar, hasta que fuese." Carta de Hern. Pizarro, MS.

"El queria venir luego, é que venia sin armas. E luego Atabaliva se movió para venir é dejó allí la gente con las armas, é llevó consigo hasta cinco ó seis mil indios sin armas, salvo que debajo de las camisetas traían unas porras pequeñas, é hondas, é bolsas con piedras." Carta de Hern. Pizarro, MS.

⁸ Xerez, Conq. del Peru, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 197.

with all his force was doubtless to display his royal state, and perhaps, also, to show greater respect for the Spaniards; but when he consented to accept their hospitality and pass the night in their quarters, he was willing to dispense with a great part of his armed soldiery and visit them in a manner that implied entire confidence in their good faith. He was too absolute in his own empire easily to suspect; and he probably could not comprehend the audacity with which a few men, like those now assembled in Caxamalca, meditated an assault on a powerful monarch in the midst of his victorious army. He did not know the character of the Spaniard.

It was not long before sunset when the van of the royal procession entered the gates of the city. First came some hundreds of the menials, employed to clear the path of every obstacle, and singing songs of triumph as they came, "which in our ears," says one of the Conquerors, "sounded like the songs of hell"¹⁰ Then followed other bodies of different ranks, and dressed in different liveries. Some wore a showy stuff, checkered white and red, like the squares of a chess-board.¹¹ Others were clad in pure white, bearing hammers or maces of silver or copper;¹² and the guards, together with those in immediate attendance on the prince, were distinguished by a rich azure livery, and a profusion of gay ornaments, while the large pendants attached to the ears indicated the Peruvian noble.

¹⁰ *Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.

¹¹ "Blanca y colorada como las casas de un ajedrez." *Ibid.*, MS.

¹² "Con martillos en las manos de cobre y plata." *Ibid.*, MS.

Elevated high above his vassals came the Inca Atahualpa, borne on a sedan or open litter, on which was a sort of throne made of massive gold of inestimable value.¹³ The palanquin was lined with the richly-colored plumes of tropical birds and studded with shining plates of gold and silver.¹⁴ The monarch's attire was much richer than on the preceding evening. Round his neck was suspended a collar of emeralds of uncommon size and brilliancy.¹⁵ His short hair was decorated with golden ornaments, and the imperial *borla* encircled his temples. The bearing of the Inca was sedate and dignified; and from his lofty station he looked down on the multitudes below with an air of composure, like one accustomed to command.

As the leading files of the procession entered the great square, larger, says an old chronicler, than any square in Spain, they opened to the right and left for the royal retinue to pass. Every thing was conducted with admirable order. The monarch was permitted to traverse the *plaza* in silence, and not a Spaniard was to be seen. When some five or six thousand of his people had entered

¹³ "El asiento que traia sobre las andas era un tablon de oro que pesó un quintal de oro segun dicen los historiadores 25,000 pesos ó ducados." Naharro, *Relacion sumaria*, MS.

¹⁴ "Luego venia mucha Gente con Armaduras, Patenas, i Coronas de Oro i Plata: entre estos venia Atabalipa, en una Litera, aforrada de Pluma de Papagalos, de muchas colores, guarnecida de chapas de Oro, i Plata." Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 198.

¹⁵ Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—"Venía la persona de Atabalica, la cual traian ochenta Señores en hombros todos bestidos de una librea azul muy rica, y el bestido su persona muy ricamente con su corona en la cabeza, y al cuello un collar de esmeraldas grandes." *Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.

the place, Atahualpa halted, and, turning round with an inquiring look, demanded, "Where are the strangers?"

At this moment Fray Vicente de Valverde, a Dominican friar, Pizarro's chaplain, and afterwards Bishop of Cuzco, came forward with his breviary, or, as other accounts say, a Bible, in one hand, and a crucifix in the other, and, approaching the Inca, told him that he came by order of his commander to expound to him the doctrines of the true faith, for which purpose the Spaniards had come from a great distance to his country. The friar then explained, as clearly as he could, the mysterious doctrine of the Trinity, and, ascending high in his account, began with the creation of man, thence passed to his fall, to his subsequent redemption by Jesus Christ, to the crucifixion, and the ascension, when the Saviour left the Apostle Peter as his Vicegerent upon earth. This power had been transmitted to the successors of the apostle, good and wise men, who, under the title of Popes, held authority over all powers and potentates on earth. One of the last of these Popes had commissioned the Spanish emperor, the most mighty monarch in the world, to conquer and convert the natives in this Western hemisphere; and his general, Francisco Pizarro, had now come to execute this important mission. The friar concluded with beseeching the Peruvian monarch to receive him kindly, to abjure the errors of his own faith, and embrace that of the Christians now proffered to him, the only one by which he could hope for salvation, and, furthermore, to acknowl-

edge himself a tributary of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, who, in that event, would aid and protect him as his loyal vassal.¹⁶ *

Whether Atahualpa possessed himself of every link in the curious chain of argument by which the monk connected Pizarro with St. Peter, may be doubted. It is certain, however, that he must have had very incorrect notions of the Trinity, if, as Garcilasso states, the interpreter Felipillo explained it by saying that "the Christians believed in three Gods and one God, and that made four."¹⁷ But there is no doubt he perfectly comprehended that the drift of the discourse was to persuade him to resign his sceptre and acknowledge the supremacy of another.

The eyes of the Indian monarch flashed fire, and his dark brow grew darker, as he replied, "I will be no man's tributary. I am greater than any

¹⁶ Montesinos says that Valverde read to the Inca the regular formula used by the Spaniards in their Conquests. (*Annales*, MS., año 1533.) But that address, though absurd enough, did not comprehend the whole range of theology ascribed to the chaplain on this occasion. Yet it is not impossible. But I have followed the report of Fray Naharro, who collected his information from the actors in the tragedy, and whose minuter statement is corroborated by the more general testimony of both the Pizarros and the secretary Xerez.

¹⁷ "Por desir Dios trino y uno dixo Dios tres y uno son quatro, sumando los numeros por darse á entender." *Com. Real.*, Parte 2, lib. 1, cap. 23.

* [When we consider that the speech of Valverde reached Atahualpa through the lips of Felipillo, an Indian lad who spoke a dialect differing greatly from the language the Inca used, and that Felipillo had learned his Spanish from the illiterate soldiers and sailors who made up the Spanish expeditions, the attempt to instruct the Inca in the mysteries of the Christian religion seems like the broadest kind of a farce. No wonder that Atahualpa was unable to comprehend the doctrine of the Trinity, and to master the arguments on which the Petrine supremacy is based.—M.]

prince upon earth. Your emperor may be a great prince; I do not doubt it, when I see that he has sent his subjects so far across the waters; and I am willing to hold him as a brother. As for the Pope of whom you speak, he must be crazy to talk of giving away countries which do not belong to him. For my faith," he continued, "I will not change it. Your own God, as you say, was put to death by the very men whom he created. But mine," he concluded, pointing to his Deity,—then, alas! sinking in glory behind the mountains,—“my God still lives in the heavens and looks down on his children.”¹⁸

He then demanded of Valverde by what authority he had said these things. The friar pointed to the book which he held, as his authority. Atahualpa, taking it, turned over the pages a moment, then, as the insult he had received probably flashed across his mind, he threw it down with vehemence, and exclaimed, “Tell your comrades that they shall give me an account of their doings in my land. I will not go from here till they have made me full satisfaction for all the wrongs they have committed.”¹⁹

The friar, greatly scandalized by the indignity

¹⁸ See Appendix No. 8, where the reader will find extracts in the original from several contemporary MSS., relating to the capture of Atahualpa.

¹⁹ Some accounts describe him as taxing the Spaniards in much more unqualified terms. (See Appendix No. 8.) But language is not likely to be accurately reported in such seasons of excitement. According to some authorities, Atahualpa let the volume drop by accident. (Montesinos, *Annales*, MS., año 1833.—Balboa, *Hist. du Pérou*, chap. 22.) But the testimony, as far as we have it, of those present, concurs in representing it as stated in the text. And, if he spoke with the heat imputed to him, this act would only be in keeping.

offered to the sacred volume, stayed only to pick it up, and, hastening to Pizarro, informed him of what had been done, exclaiming, at the same time, "Do you not see that while we stand here wasting our breath in talking with this dog, full of pride as he is, the fields are filling with Indians? Set on at once; I absolve you."²⁰ Pizarro saw that the hour had come. He waved a white scarf in the air, the appointed signal. The fatal gun was fired from the fortress. Then, springing into the square, the Spanish captain and his followers shouted the old war-cry of "St. Jago and at them." It was answered by the battle-cry of every Spaniard in the city, as, rushing from the avenues of the great halls in which they were concealed, they poured into the *plaza*, horse and foot, each in his own dark column, and threw themselves into the midst of the Indian crowd. The latter, taken by surprise, stunned by the report of artillery and muskets, the echoes of which

²⁰ "Visto esto por el Frayle y lo poco que aprovechaban sus palabras, tomó su libro, y abajó su cabeza, y fuese para donde estaba el dicho Pizarro, casi corriendo, y dijole: No veis lo que pasa: para que estais en comedimientos y requerimientos con este perro lleno de soberbia que vienen los campos llenos de Indios? Salid á el,—que yo os absuelvo." (Relacion del primer Descub., MS.) The historian should be slow in ascribing conduct so diabolical to Father Valverde, without evidence. Two of the Conquerors present, Pedro Pizarro and Xeres, simply state that the monk reported to his commander the indignity offered to the sacred volume. But Hernando Pizarro and the author of the *Relacion del primer Descubrimiento*, both eye-witnesses, and Naharro, Zarate, Gomara, Balboa, Herrera, the Inca Titucusi Yupanqui, all of whom obtained their information from persons who were eye-witnesses, state the circumstance, with little variation, as in the text. Yet Oviedo endorses the account of Xeres, and Garcilasso de la Vega insists on Valverde's innocence of any attempt to rouse the passions of his comrades.

reverberated like thunder from the surrounding buildings, and blinded by the smoke which rolled in sulphurous volumes along the square, were seized with a panic. They knew not whither to fly for refuge from the coming ruin. Nobles and commoners,—all were trampled down under the fierce charge of the cavalry, who dealt their blows, right and left, without sparing; while their swords, flashing through the thick gloom, carried dismay into the hearts of the wretched natives, who now for the first time saw the horse and his rider in all their terrors. They made no resistance,—as, indeed, they had no weapons with which to make it. Every avenue to escape was closed, for the entrance to the square was choked up with the dead bodies of men who had perished in vain efforts to fly; and such was the agony of the survivors under the terrible pressure of their assailants that a large body of Indians, by their convulsive struggles, burst through the wall of stone and dried clay which formed part of the boundary of the *plaza*! It fell, leaving an opening of more than a hundred paces, through which multitudes now found their way into the country, still hotly pursued by the cavalry, who, leaping the fallen rubbish, hung on the rear of the fugitives, striking them down in all directions.²¹

Meanwhile the fight, or rather massacre, continued hot around the Inca, whose person was the

²¹ Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 198.—Carta de Hern. Pizarro, MS.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 7.—*Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.—Zarate, *Conq. del Peru*, lib. 2, cap. 5.—*Instruccion del Inga Titucussi Yupanqui*, MS.

great object of the assault. His faithful nobles, rallying about him, threw themselves in the way of the assailants, and strove, by tearing them from their saddles, or at least by offering their own bosoms as a mark for their vengeance, to shield their beloved master. It is said by some authorities that they carried weapons concealed under their clothes. If so, it availed them little, as it is not pretended that they used them. But the most timid animal will defend itself when at bay. That the Indians did not do so in the present instance is proof that they had no weapons to use.²² Yet they still continued to force back the cavaliers, clinging to their horses with dying grasp, and, as one was cut down, another taking the place of his fallen comrade with a loyalty truly affecting.

The Indian monarch, stunned and bewildered, saw his faithful subjects falling around him without fully comprehending his situation. The litter on which he rode heaved to and fro, as the mighty press swayed backwards and forwards; and he gazed on the overwhelming ruin, like some forlorn mariner, who, tossed about in his bark by the furious elements, sees the lightning's flash and

²² The author of the *Relacion del primer Descubrimiento* speaks of a few as having bows and arrows, and of others as armed with silver and copper mallets or maces, which may, however, have been more for ornament than for service in fight. Pedro Pizarro and some later writers say that the Indians brought thongs with them to bind the captive white men. Both Hernando Pizarro and the secretary Xerez agree that their only arms were secreted under their clothes; but, as they do not pretend that these were used, and as it was announced by the Inca that he came without arms, the assertion may well be doubted,—or rather discredited. All authorities, without exception, agree that no active resistance was attempted.

hears the thunder bursting around him with the consciousness that he can do nothing to avert his fate. At length, weary with the work of destruction, the Spaniards, as the shades of evening grew deeper, felt afraid that the royal prize might, after all, elude them; and some of the cavaliers made a desperate attempt to end the affray at once by taking Atahualpa's life. But Pizarro, who was nearest his person, called out, with stentorian voice, "Let no one who values his life strike at the Inca;"²³ and, stretching out his arm to shield him, received a wound on the hand from one of his own men,—the only wound received by a Spaniard in the action.²⁴

The struggle now became fiercer than ever round the royal litter. It reeled more and more, and at length, several of the nobles who supported it having been slain, it was overturned, and the Indian prince would have come with violence to the ground, had not his fall been broken by the efforts of Pizarro and some other of the cavaliers, who caught him in their arms. The imperial *borla* was instantly snatched from his temples by a soldier named Estete,²⁵ and the unhappy monarch,

²³ "El marques dio bozes diciendo: Nadie hiera al indio so pena de la vida." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

²⁴ Whatever discrepancy exists among the Castilian accounts in other respects, all concur in this remarkable fact,—that no Spaniard, except their general, received a wound on that occasion. Pizarro saw in this a satisfactory argument for regarding the Spaniards, this day, as under the special protection of Providence. See Xerez, Conq. del Peru, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 199.

²⁵ Miguel Estete, who long retained the silken diadem as a trophy of the exploit, according to Garcilasso de la Vega (Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 1, cap. 27), an indifferent authority for any thing in this part of his history. This popular writer, whose work, from his superior

strongly secured, was removed to a neighboring building, where he was carefully guarded.

All attempt at resistance now ceased. The fate of the Inca soon spread over town and country. The charm which might have held the Peruvians together was dissolved. Every man thought only of his own safety. Even the soldiery encamped on the adjacent fields took the alarm, and, learning the fatal tidings, were seen flying in every direction before their pursuers, who in the heat of triumph showed no touch of mercy. At length night, more pitiful than man, threw her friendly mantle over the fugitives, and the scattered troops of Pizarro rallied once more at the sound of the trumpet in the bloody square of Caxamalca.

The number of slain is reported, as usual, with great discrepancy. Pizarro's secretary says two

knowledge of the institutions of the country, has obtained greater credit, even in what relates to the Conquest, than the reports of the Conquerors themselves, has indulged in the romantic vein to an unpardonable extent in his account of the capture of Atahualpa. According to him, the Peruvian monarch treated the invaders from the first with supreme deference, as descendants of Viracocha, predicted by his oracles as to come and rule over the land. But if this flattering homage had been paid by the Inca, it would never have escaped the notice of the Conquerors. Garcilasso had read the Commentaries of Cortés, as he somewhere tells us; and it is probable that the general's account, well founded, it appears, of a similar superstition among the Aztecs, suggested to the historian the idea of a corresponding sentiment in the Peruvians, which, while it flattered the vanity of the Spaniards, in some degree vindicated his own countrymen from the charge of cowardice, incurred by their too ready submission; for, however they might be called on to resist men, it would have been madness to resist the decrees of Heaven. Yet Garcilasso's romantic version has something in it so pleasing to the imagination that it has ever found favor with the majority of readers. The English student might have met with a sufficient corrective in the criticism of the sagacious and skeptical Robertson.

thousand natives fell.²⁶ A descendant of the Incas—a safer authority than Garcilasso—swells the number to ten thousand.²⁷ Truth is generally found somewhere between the extremes. The slaughter was incessant, for there was nothing to check it. That there should have been no resistance will not appear strange when we consider the fact that the wretched victims were without arms, and that their senses must have been completely overwhelmed by the strange and appalling spectacle which burst on them so unexpectedly. “What wonder was it,” said an ancient Inca to a Spaniard, who repeats it, “what wonder that our countrymen lost their wits, seeing blood run like water, and the Inca, whose person we all of us adore, seized and carried off by a handful of men?”²⁸ Yet, though the massacre was inces-

²⁶ Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 199.

²⁷ “Los mataron á todos con los Cavallos con espadas con arcabuzes como quien mata ovejas—sin hacerles nadie resistencia que no se escaparon de mas de diez mil, doscientos.” *Instruc. del Inga Titucussi*, MS.—This document, consisting of two hundred folio pages, is signed by a Peruvian Inca, grandson of the great Huayna Capac, and nephew, consequently, of Atahualpa. It was written in 1570, and designed to set forth to his Majesty Philip II. the claims of Titucussi and the members of his family to the royal bounty. In the course of the Memorial the writer takes occasion to recapitulate some of the principal events in the latter years of the empire; and, though sufficiently prolix to tax even the patience of Philip II., it is of much value as an historical document, coming from one of the royal race of Peru.

²⁸ Montesinos, *Annales*, MS., año 1532.—According to Naharro, the Indians were less astounded by the wild uproar caused by the sudden assault of the Spaniards, though “this was such that it seemed as if the very heavens were falling,” than by a terrible apparition which appeared in the air during the onslaught. It consisted of a woman and a child, and, at their side, a horseman all clothed in white on a milk-white charger,—doubtless the valiant St. James,—who, with his sword glancing lightning, smote down the infidel host and ren-

sant, it was short in duration. The whole time consumed by it, the brief twilight of the tropics, did not much exceed half an hour; a short period, indeed,—yet long enough to decide the fate of Peru and to subvert the dynasty of the Incas.

That night Pizarro kept his engagement with the Inca, since he had Atahualpa to sup with him. The banquet was served in one of the halls facing the great square, which a few hours before had been the scene of slaughter, and the pavement of which was still encumbered with the dead bodies of the Inca's subjects. The captive monarch was placed next his conqueror. He seemed like one who did not yet fully comprehend the extent of his calamity. If he did, he showed an amazing fortitude. "It is the fortune of war," he said;²⁹ and, if we may credit the Spaniards, he expressed his admiration of the adroitness with which they had contrived to entrap him in the midst of his own troops.³⁰ He added that he had been made acquainted with the progress of the white men from the hour of their landing, but that he had been led to undervalue their strength from the insignificance of their numbers. He had no doubt he should be easily able to overpower them, on their arrival at Caxamalca, by his superior strength; and, as he wished to see for himself

dered them incapable of resistance. This miracle the good father reports on the testimony of three of his Order, who were present in the action and who received the account from numbers of the natives. *Relacion sumaria*, MS.

²⁹ "Diciendo que era uso de Guerra vencer, i ser vencido." Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 5, lib. 2, cap. 12.

³⁰ "Haciendo admiracion de la traza que tenia hecha." *Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.

what manner of men they were, he had suffered them to cross the mountains, meaning to select such as he chose for his own service, and, getting possession of their wonderful arms and horses, put the rest to death.⁸¹

That such may have been Atahualpa's purpose is not improbable. It explains his conduct in not occupying the mountain-passes, which afforded such strong points of defence against invasion. But that a prince so astute, as by the general testimony of the Conquerors he is represented to have been, should have made so impolitic a disclosure of his hidden motives is not so probable. The intercourse with the Inca was carried on chiefly by means of the interpreter Felipillo, or *little Philip*, as he was called, from his assumed Christian name, —a malicious youth, as it appears, who bore no good will to Atahualpa, and whose interpretations were readily admitted by the Conquerors, eager to find some pretext for their bloody reprisals.

Atahualpa, as elsewhere noticed, was at this time about thirty years of age. He was well made, and more robust than usual with his countrymen. His head was large, and his countenance might have been called handsome, but that his eyes, which were blood-shot, gave a fierce expression to his features. He was deliberate in speech, grave in manner, and towards his own people stern even to severity; though with the Spaniards he showed

⁸¹ "And in my opinion," adds the Conqueror who reports the speech, "he had good grounds for believing he could do this, since nothing but the miraculous interposition of Heaven could have saved us." *Ibid.*, MS.

himself affable, sometimes even indulging in sallies of mirth.³²

Pizarro paid every attention to his royal captive, and endeavored to lighten, if he could not dispel, the gloom which, in spite of his assumed equanimity, hung over the monarch's brow. He besought him not to be cast down by his reverses, for his lot had only been that of every prince who had resisted the white men. They had come into the country to proclaim the gospel, the religion of Jesus Christ; and it was no wonder they had prevailed, when his shield was over them. Heaven had permitted that Atahualpa's pride should be humbled, because of his hostile intentions towards the Spaniards and the insult he had offered to the sacred volume. But he bade the Inca take courage and confide in him, for the Spaniards were a generous race, warring only against those who made war on them, and showing grace to all who submitted!³³ Atahualpa may have thought the massacre of that day an indifferent commentary on this vaunted lenity.

Before retiring for the night, Pizarro briefly addressed his troops on their present situation. When he had ascertained that not a man was wounded, he bade them offer up thanksgivings to Providence for so great a miracle; without its care, they could never have prevailed so easily over the host of their enemies; and he trusted their

³² Xerez, Conq. del Peru, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 203.

³³ "Nosotros vsamos de piedad con nuestros Enemigos vencidos, i no hacemos Guerra, sino à los que nos la hacen, i pudiendolos destruir, no lo hacemos, antes los perdonamos." Xerez, Conq. del Peru, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 199.

lives had been reserved for still greater things. But, if they would succeed, they had much to do for themselves. They were in the heart of a powerful kingdom, encompassed by foes deeply attached to their own sovereign. They must be ever on their guard, therefore, and be prepared at any hour to be roused from their slumbers by the call of the trumpet.³⁴ Having then posted his sentinels, placed a strong guard over the apartment of Atahualpa, and taken all the precautions of a careful commander, Pizarro withdrew to repose; and, if he could really feel that in the bloody scenes of the past day he had been fighting only the good fight of the Cross, he doubtless slept sounder than on the night preceding the seizure of the Inca.

On the following morning, the first commands of the Spanish chief were to have the city cleansed of its impurities; and the prisoners, of whom there were many in the camp, were employed to remove the dead and give them decent burial. His next care was to despatch a body of about thirty horse to the quarters lately occupied by Atahualpa at the baths, to take possession of the spoil, and disperse the remnant of the Peruvian forces which still hung about the place.

Before noon, the party which he had despatched on this service returned with a large troop of Indians, men and women, among the latter of whom were many of the wives and attendants of the Inca. The Spaniards had met with no resistance; since the Peruvian warriors, though so supe-

³⁴ Ibid., ubi supra.—Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.

rior in number, excellent in appointments, and consisting mostly of able-bodied young men,—for the greater part of the veteran forces were with the Inca's generals at the south,—lost all heart for the moment of their sovereign's captivity. There was no leader to take his place; for they recognized no authority but that of the Child of the Sun, and they seemed to be held by a sort of invisible charm near the place of his confinement; while they gazed with superstitious awe on the white men who could achieve so audacious an enterprise.³⁵

The number of Indian prisoners was so great that some of the Conquerors were for putting them all to death, or, at least, cutting off their hands, to disable them from acts of violence and to strike terror into their countrymen.³⁶ The proposition, doubtless, came from the lowest and most ferocious of the soldiery. But that it should have been made at all shows what materials entered into the composition of Pizarro's company. The chief rejected it at once, as no less impolitic than inhuman, and dismissed the Indians to their

³⁵ From this time, says Ondegardo, the Spaniards, who hitherto had been designated as the "men with beards," *barbudos*, were called by the natives, from their fair-complexion deity, *Viracochas*. The people of Cuzco, who bore no good will to the captive Inca, "looked upon the strangers," says the author, "as sent by Viracocha himself." (Rel. Prim., MS.) It reminds us of a superstition, or rather an amiable fancy, among the ancient Greeks, that "the stranger came from Jupiter."

"Πρὸς γὰρ Διὶς εἰσὶν ἄνθρωποι
θεῖοι τε." OΔΥΣ., ε., v. 57.

³⁶ "Algunos fueron de opinion, que matasen à todos los Hombres de Guerra, ò les cortasen las manos." Xerez, Hist. del Peru, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 200.

several homes, with the assurance that none should be harmed who did not offer resistance to the white men. A sufficient number, however, were retained to wait on the Conquerors, who were so well provided in this respect that the most common soldier was attended by a retinue of menials that would have better suited the establishment of a noble.³⁷

The Spaniards had found immense droves of llamas under the care of the shepherds in the neighborhood of the baths, destined for the consumption of the court. Many of them were now suffered to roam abroad among their native mountains; though Pizarro caused a considerable number to be reserved for the use of the army. And this was no small quantity, if, as one of the Conquerors says, a hundred and fifty of the Peruvian sheep were frequently slaughtered in a day.³⁸ Indeed, the Spaniards were so improvident in their destruction of these animals that in a few years the superb flocks, nurtured with so much care by the Peruvian government, had almost disappeared from the land.³⁹

The party sent to pillage the Inca's pleasure-house brought back a rich booty in gold and silver, consisting chiefly of plate for the royal table, which greatly astonished the Spaniards by

³⁷ "Cada Español de los que allí iban tomaron para sí mui gran cantidad tanto que como andava todo a rienda suelta havia Español que tenia docientas piezas de Indios i Indias de servicio." Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.

³⁸ "Se matan cada Día, ciento i cinquenta." Xerez, Conq. del Peru, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 909.

³⁹ Cieza de Leon, Cronica, cap. 80.—Ondegardo, Rel. Seg., MS.—"Hasta que los destruian todos sin haver Español ni Justicia que lo defendiese ni amparase." Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.

their size and weight. These, as well as some large emeralds obtained there, together with the precious spoils found on the bodies of the Indian nobles who had perished in the massacre, were placed in safe custody, to be hereafter divided. In the city of Caxamalca, the troops also found magazines stored with goods, both cotton and woollen, far superior to any they had seen, for fineness of texture and the skill with which the various colors were blended. They were piled from the floors to the very roofs of the buildings, and in such quantity that, after every soldier had provided himself with what he desired, it made no sensible diminution of the whole amount.⁴⁰

Pizarro would now gladly have directed his march on the Peruvian capital. But the distance was great, and his force was small. This must have been still further crippled by the guard required for the Inca, and the chief feared to involve himself deeper in a hostile empire so populous and powerful, with a prize so precious in his keeping. With much anxiety, therefore, he looked for reinforcements from the colonies; and he despatched a courier to San Miguel, to inform the Spaniards there of his recent successes, and to ascertain if there had been any arrival from Panamá. Meanwhile he employed his men in making Caxamalca a more suitable residence for a Christian host, by erecting a church, or, perhaps, appro-

⁴⁰ Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 900.—There was enough, says the anonymous Conqueror, for several ship-loads. "Todas estas cosas de tiendas y ropas de lana y algodon eran en tan gran cantidad, que à mi parecer fueran menester muchos navios en que supieran." *Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.

priating some Indian edifice to this use, in which mass was regularly performed by the Dominican fathers with great solemnity. The dilapidated walls of the city were also restored in a more substantial manner than before, and every vestige was soon effaced of the hurricane that had so recently swept over it.

It was not long before Atahualpa discovered, amidst all the show of religious zeal in his Conquerors, a lurking appetite more potent in most of their bosoms than either religion or ambition. This was the love of gold. He determined to avail himself of it to procure his own freedom. The critical posture of his affairs made it important that this should not be long delayed. His brother Huascar, ever since his defeat, had been detained as a prisoner, subject to the victor's orders. He was now at Andamarca, at no great distance from Caxamalca; and Atahualpa feared, with good reason, that, when his own imprisonment was known, Huascar would find it easy to corrupt his guards, make his escape, and put himself at the head of the contested empire without a rival to dispute it.

In the hope, therefore, to effect his purpose by appealing to the avarice of his keepers, he one day told Pizarro that if he would set him free he would engage to cover the floor of the apartment on which they stood with gold. Those present listened with an incredulous smile; and, as the Inca received no answer, he said, with some emphasis, that "he would not merely cover the floor, but would fill the room with gold as high as he

could reach;” and, standing on tiptoe, he stretched out his hand against the wall. All stared with amazement; while they regarded it as the insane boast of a man too eager to procure his liberty to weigh the meaning of his words. Yet Pizarro was sorely perplexed. As he had advanced into the country, much that he had seen, and all that he had heard, had confirmed the dazzling reports first received of the riches of Peru. Atahualpa himself had given him the most glowing picture of the wealth of the capital, where the roofs of the temples were plated with gold, while the walls were hung with tapestry and the floors inlaid with tiles of the same precious metal. There must be some foundation for all this. At all events, it was safe to accede to the Inca’s proposition; since by so doing he could collect at once all the gold at his disposal, and thus prevent its being purloined or secreted by the natives. He therefore acquiesced in Atahualpa’s offer, and, drawing a red line along the wall at the height which the Inca had indicated, he caused the terms of the proposal to be duly recorded by the notary. The apartment was about seventeen feet broad, by twenty-two feet long, and the line round the walls was nine feet from the floor.⁴¹ This space was to be filled

⁴¹ I have adopted the dimensions given by the secretary Xeres. (*Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 302.) According to Hernando Pizarro, the apartment was nine feet high, but thirty-five feet long by seventeen or eighteen feet wide. (*Carta*, MS.) The most moderate estimate is large enough.—Stevenson says that they still show “a large room, part of the old palace, and now the residence of the Cacique Astoplica, where the ill-fated Inca was kept a prisoner;” and he adds that the line traced on the wall is still visible. (*Residence in South America*, vol. ii. p. 163.) Peru abounds in re-

with gold; but it was understood that the gold was not to be melted down into ingots, but to retain the original form of the articles into which it was manufactured, that the Inca might have the benefit of the space which they occupied. He further agreed to fill an adjoining room of smaller dimensions twice full with silver, in like manner; and he demanded two months to accomplish all this.⁴³

No sooner was this arrangement made than the Inca despatched couriers to Cuzco and the other principal places in the kingdom, with orders that the gold ornaments and utensils should be removed from the royal palaces, and from the temples and other public buildings, and transported without loss of time to Caxamalca. Meanwhile he continued to live in the Spanish quarters, treated with the respect due to his rank, and enjoying all the freedom that was compatible with the security of his person. Though not permitted to go abroad,

mains as ancient as the Conquest; and it would not be surprising that the memory of a place so remarkable as this should be preserved,—though anything but a memorial to be cherished by the Spaniards.

⁴³ The facts in the preceding paragraph are told with remarkable uniformity by the ancient chroniclers. (Conf. Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—Carta de Hern. Pizarro, MS.—Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, *ubi supra*.—Naharro, *Relacion sumaria*, MS.—Zarate, *Conq. del Peru*, lib. 2, cap. 6.—Gomara, *Hist. de las Ind.*, cap. 114.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 5, lib. 2, cap. 1.)—Both Naharro and Herrera state expressly that Pizarro promised the Inca his liberation on fulfilling the compact. This is not confirmed by the other chroniclers, who, however, do not intimate that the Spanish general declined the terms. And as Pizarro, by all accounts, encouraged his prisoner to perform his part of the contract, it must have been with the understanding implied, if not expressed, that he would abide by the other. It is most improbable that the Inca would have stripped himself of his treasures, if he had not so understood it.

his limbs were unshackled, and he had the range of his own apartments under the jealous surveillance of a guard, who knew too well the value of the royal captive to be remiss. He was allowed the society of his favorite wives, and Pizarro took care that his domestic privacy should not be violated. His subjects had free access to their sovereign, and every day he received visits from the Indian nobles, who came to bring presents and offer condolence to their unfortunate master. On such occasions the most potent of these great vassals never ventured into his presence without first stripping off their sandals and bearing a load on their backs in token of reverence. The Spaniards gazed with curious eyes on these acts of homage, or rather of slavish submission, on the one side, and on the air of perfect indifference with which they were received, as a matter of course, on the other; and they conceived high ideas of the character of a prince who, even in his present helpless condition, could inspire such feelings of awe in his subjects. The royal levee was so well attended, and such devotion was shown by his vassals to the captive monarch, as did not fail, in the end, to excite some feelings of distrust in his keepers.⁴³

Pizarro did not neglect the opportunity afforded him of communicating the truths of revelation to his prisoner, and both he and his chaplain, Father Valverde, labored in the same good work. Atahualpa listened with composure and apparent attention. But nothing seemed to move him so

* *Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.—Naharro, *Relacion sumaria*, MS.—Zarate, *Conq. del Peru*, lib. 2, cap. 6.

much as the argument with which the military polemic closed his discourse,—that it could not be the true God whom Atahualpa worshipped, since he had suffered him to fall into the hands of his enemies. The unhappy monarch assented to the force of this, acknowledging that his Deity had indeed deserted him in his utmost need.⁴⁴

Yet his conduct towards his brother Huascar at this time too clearly proves that, whatever respect he may have shown for the teachers, the doctrines of Christianity had made little impression on his heart. No sooner had Huascar been informed of the capture of his rival, and of the large ransom he had offered for his deliverance, than, as the latter had foreseen, he made every effort to regain his liberty, and sent, or attempted to send, a message to the Spanish commander, that he would pay a much larger ransom than that promised by Atahualpa, who, never having dwelt in Cuzco, was ignorant of the quantity of treasure there, and where it was deposited.

Intelligence of all this was secretly communicated to Atahualpa by the persons who had his brother in charge; and his jealousy, thus roused, was further heightened by Pizarro's declaration that he intended to have Huascar brought to Caxamalca, where he would himself examine into the controversy and determine which of the two had the better title to the sceptre of the Incas. Pizarro perceived, from the first, the advantages

“I mas dijo Atabalpa, que estaba espantado de lo que el Gobernador le havia dicho: que bien conocia que aquel que hablaba en su Idolo, no es Dios verdadero, pues tan poco le ayudò.” Xerez, Conq. del Peru, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 303.

of a competition which would enable him, by throwing his sword into the scale he preferred, to give it a preponderance. The party who held the sceptre by his nomination would henceforth be a tool in his hands, with which to work his pleasure more effectually than he could well do in his own name. It was the game, as every reader knows, played by Edward the First in the affairs of Scotland, and by many a monarch both before and since; and, though their examples may not have been familiar to the unlettered soldier, Pizarro was too quick in his perceptions to require, in this matter, at least, the teachings of history.

Atahualpa was much alarmed by the Spanish commander's determination to have the suit between the rival candidates brought before him; for he feared that, independently of the merits of the case, the decision would be likely to go in favor of Huascar, whose mild and ductile temper would make him a convenient instrument in the hands of his conquerors. Without further hesitation, he determined to remove this cause of jealousy forever, by the death of his brother.

His orders were immediately executed, and the unhappy prince was drowned, as was commonly reported, in the river of Andamarca, declaring with his dying breath that the white men would avenge his murder, and that his rival would not long survive him.⁴⁵ Thus perished the unfortu-

⁴⁵ Both the place and the manner of Huascar's death are reported with much discrepancy by the historians. All agree in the one important fact that he died a violent death at the instigation of his brother. Conf. Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 8, lib. 3, cap. 2.—Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iiii. p. 204.—Pedro Pizarro, *Descub.*

nate Huascar, the legitimate heir of the throne of the Incas, in the very morning of life, and the commencement of his reign; a reign, however, which had been long enough to call forth the display of many excellent and amiable qualities, though his nature was too gentle to cope with the bold and fiercer temper of his brother. Such is the portrait we have of him from the Indian and Castilian chroniclers; though the former, it should be added, were the kinsmen of Huascar, and the latter certainly bore no good will to Atahualpa.⁴⁶

That prince received the tidings of Huascar's death with every mark of surprise and indignation. He immediately sent for Pizarro, and communicated the event to him with expressions of the deepest sorrow. The Spanish commander refused, at first, to credit the unwelcome news, and bluntly told the Inca that his brother could not be dead, and that he should be answerable for his life.⁴⁷ To this Atahualpa replied by renewed assurances of the fact, adding that the deed had been perpetrated, without his privity, by Huascar's keepers, fearful that he might take advantage of the

y Conq., MS.—Naharro, *Relacion sumaria*, MS.—Zarate, *Conq. del Peru*, lib. 2, cap. 6.—*Instruc. del Inga Titucussi*, MS.

"Both Garcilasso de la Vega and Titucussi Yupanqui were descendants from Huayna Capac, of the pure Peruvian stock, the natural enemies, therefore, of their kinsman of Quito, whom they regarded as a usurper. Circumstances brought the Castilians into direct collision with Atahualpa, and it was natural they should seek to darken his reputation by contrast with the fair character of his rival.

"*"Sabido esto por el Gobernador, mostrò, que le pesaba mucho: i dijo que era mentira, que no le havian muerto, que lo trujesen luego vivo: i sino, que el mandaria matar à Atabalipa."* Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 204.

troubles of the country to make his escape. Pizarro, on making further inquiries, found that the report of his death was but too true. That it should have been brought about by Atahualpa's officers without his express command would only show that by so doing they had probably anticipated their master's wishes. The crime, which assumes in our eyes a deeper dye from the relation of the parties, had not the same estimation among the Incas, in whose multitudinous families the bonds of brotherhood must have sat loosely, —much too loosely to restrain the arm of the despot from sweeping away any obstacle that lay in his path.

CHAPTER VI

GOLD ARRIVES FOR THE RANSOM—VISIT TO PACHA-CAMAC—DEMOLITION OF THE IDOL—THE INCA'S FAVORITE GENERAL—THE INCA'S LIFE IN CONFINEMENT—ENVOYS' CONDUCT IN CUZCO—ARRIVAL OF ALMAGRO

1533

SEVERAL weeks had now passed since Atahualpa's emissaries had been despatched for the gold and silver that were to furnish his ransom to the Spaniards. But the distances were great, and the returns came in slowly. They consisted, for the most part, of massive pieces of plate, some of which weighed two or three *arrobas*,—a Spanish weight of twenty-five pounds. On some days, articles of the value of thirty or forty thousand *pesos de oro* were brought in, and, occasionally, of the value of fifty or even sixty thousand *pesos*. The greedy eyes of the Conquerors gloated on the shining heaps of treasure, which were transported on the shoulders of the Indian porters, and, after being carefully registered, were placed in safe deposit under a strong guard. They now began to believe that the magnificent promises of the Inca would be fulfilled. But, as their avarice was sharpened by the ravishing display of wealth such as they had hardly

dared to imagine, they became more craving and impatient. They made no allowance for the distance and the difficulties of the way, and loudly inveighed against the tardiness with which the royal commands were executed. They even suspected Atahualpa of devising this scheme only to gain a pretext for communicating with his subjects in distant places, and of proceeding as dilatorily as possible, in order to secure time for the execution of his plans. Rumors of a rising among the Peruvians were circulated, and the Spaniards were in apprehension of some general and sudden assault on their quarters. Their new acquisitions gave them additional cause for solicitude: like a miser, they trembled in the midst of their treasures.¹

Pizarro reported to his captive the rumors that were in circulation among the soldiers, naming, as one of the places pointed out for the rendezvous of the Indians, the neighboring city of Huamachuco. Atahualpa listened with undisguised astonishment, and indignantly repelled the charge, as false from beginning to end. "No one of my subjects," said he, "would dare to appear in arms, or to raise his finger, without my orders. You have me," he continued, "in your power. Is not my life at your disposal? And what better security can you have for my fidelity?" He then represented to the Spanish commander that the distances of many of the places were very great; that to Cuzco, the capital, although a message

¹ Zarate, *Conq. del Peru*, lib. 2, cap. 6.—Naharro, *Relacion sumaria*, MS.—Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 204.

might be sent by post, through a succession of couriers, in five days from Caxamalca, it would require weeks for a porter to travel over the same ground with a heavy load on his back. "But, that you may be satisfied I am proceeding in good faith," he added, "I desire you will send some of your own people to Cuzco. I will give them a safe-conduct, and, when there, they can superintend the execution of the commission, and see with their own eyes that no hostile movements are intended." It was a fair offer; and Pizarro, anxious to get more precise and authentic information of the state of the country, gladly availed himself of it.²

Before the departure of these emissaries, the general had despatched his brother Hernando with about twenty horse and a small body of infantry to the neighboring town of Huamachuco, in order to reconnoitre the country and ascertain if there was any truth in the report of an armed force having assembled there. Hernando found every thing quiet, and met with a kind reception from the natives. But before leaving the place he received further orders from his brother to continue his march to Pachacamac, a town situated on the coast, at least a hundred leagues distant from Caxamalca. It was consecrated as the seat of the great temple of the deity of that name, whom the Peruvians worshipped as the Creator of the world. It is said that they found there altars raised to this god, on their first occupation of the country; and

² Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. pp. 203, 204.—Naharro, *Relacion sumaria*, MS.

such was the veneration in which he was held by the natives that the Incas, instead of attempting to abolish his worship, deemed it more prudent to sanction it conjointly with that of their own deity, the Sun. Side by side the two temples rose on the heights that overlooked the city of Pachacamac, and prospered in the offerings of their respective votaries. "It was a cunning arrangement," says an ancient writer, "by which the great enemy of man secured to himself a double harvest of souls."²

But the temple of Pachacamac continued to maintain its ascendancy; and the oracles delivered from its dark and mysterious shrine were held in no less repute among the natives of *Tavantinsuyu* (or "the four quarters of the world," as Peru under the Incas was called) than the oracles of Delphi obtained among the Greeks. Pilgrimages were made to the hallowed spot from the most distant regions, and the city of Pachacamac became among the Peruvians what Mecca was among the Mahometans. The shrine of the deity, enriched by the tributes of the pilgrims, gradually became one of the most opulent in the land; and Atahualpa, anxious to collect his ransom as speedily as possible, urged Pizarro to send a detachment in that direction, to secure the treasures before they could be secreted by the priests of the temple.

It was a journey of considerable difficulty.

² "El demonio Pachacama alegre con este concierto, afirman que mostraus en sus respuestas gran contento: pues con lo vno y lo otro era el serruido, y quedauan las animas de los simples malauenturados presas en su poder." Cieza de Leon, *Cronica*, cap. 79.

Two-thirds of the route lay along the table-land of the Cordilleras, intersected occasionally by crests of the mountain-range, that imposed no slight impediment to their progress. Fortunately, much of the way they had the benefit of the great road to Cuzco; and "nothing in Christendom," exclaims Hernando Pizarro, "equals the magnificence of this road across the sierra."⁴ In some places the rocky ridges were so precipitous that steps were cut in them for the travellers, and, though the sides were protected by heavy stone balustrades or parapets, it was with the greatest difficulty that the horses were enabled to scale them. The road was frequently crossed by streams, over which bridges of wood and sometimes of stone were thrown; though occasionally, along the declivities of the mountains, the waters swept down in such furious torrents that the only method of passing them was by the swinging bridges of osier, of which till now the Spaniards had had little experience.* They were secured on either bank to heavy buttresses of stone. But as they were originally designed for nothing heavier than the foot-passenger and the llama, and as they had something exceedingly fragile in their appearance, the Spaniards hesitated to venture on them with their horses. Experience, however, soon showed they were capable of bearing a much greater weight; and though the traveller, made giddy by the vibration of the long avenue, looked

⁴ "El camino de las sierras es cosa de ver, porque en verdad en tierra tan fragosa en la cristiandad no se han visto tan hermosos caminos, toda la mayor parte de calzada." Carta, MS.

* [See vol. i. p. 73, note.—M.]

with a reeling brain into the torrent that was tumbling at the depth of a hundred feet or more below him, the whole of the cavalry effected their passage without an accident. At these bridges, it may be remarked, they found persons stationed whose business it was to collect toll for the government from all travellers.⁵

The Spaniards were amazed by the number as well as magnitude of the flocks of llamas which they saw browsing on the stunted herbage that grows in the elevated regions of the Andes. Sometimes they were gathered in enclosures, but more usually were roaming at large under the conduct of their Indian shepherds; and the Conquerors now learned, for the first time, that these animals were tended with as much care, and their migrations as nicely regulated, as those of the vast flocks of merinos in their own country.⁶

The table-land and its declivities were thickly sprinkled with hamlets and towns, some of them of considerable size; and the country in every direction bore the marks of a thrifty husbandry. Fields of Indian corn were to be seen in all its

⁵ "Todos los arroyos tienen puentes de piedra ó de madera: en un río grande, que era muy caudaloso é muy grande, que pasamos dos veces, hallamos puentes de red, que es cosa maravillosa de ver; pasamos por ellas los caballos; tienen en cada pasaje dos puentes, la una por donde pasa la gente comun, la otra por donde pasa el señor de la tierra ó sus capitanes: esta tienen siempre cerrada é indios que la guardan; estos indios cobran portazgo de los que pasan." Carta de Hern. Pizarro, MS.—Also *Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.

⁶ A comical blunder has been made by the printer, in M. Ternaux-Compans' excellent translation of Xerez, in the account of this expedition: "On trouve sur toute la route beaucoup de porcs, de lamas." (*Relation de la Conquête du Pérou*, p. 187.) The substitution of *porcs* for *parcs* might well lead the reader into the error of supposing that swine existed in Peru before the Conquest.

different stages, from the green and tender ear to the yellow ripeness of harvest-time. As they descended into the valleys and deep ravines that divided the crests of the Cordilleras, they were surrounded by the vegetation of a warmer climate, which delighted the eye with the gay livery of a thousand bright colors and intoxicated the senses with its perfumes. Everywhere the natural capacities of the soil were stimulated by a minute system of irrigation, which drew the fertilizing moisture from every stream and rivulet that rolled down the declivities of the Andes; while the terraced sides of the mountains were clothed with gardens and orchards that teemed with fruits of various latitudes. The Spaniards could not sufficiently admire the industry with which the natives had availed themselves of the bounty of Nature, or had supplied the deficiency where she had dealt with a more parsimonious hand.

Whether from the commands of the Inca, or from the awe which their achievements had spread throughout the land, the Conquerors were received, in every place through which they passed, with hospitable kindness. Lodgings were provided for them, with ample refreshments from the well-stored magazines distributed at intervals along the route. In many of the towns the inhabitants came out to welcome them with singing and dancing, and, when they resumed their march, a number of able-bodied porters were furnished to carry forward their baggage.⁷

⁷ Carta de Hernando Pizarro, MS.—Estete, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. pp. 906, 907.—Relacion del primer Descub., MS.—Both the last-cited

At length, after some weeks of travel, severe even with all these appliances, Hernando Pizarro arrived before the city of Pachacamac. It was a place of considerable population, and the edifices were, many of them, substantially built. The temple of the tutelar deity consisted of a vast stone building, or rather pile of buildings, which, clustering around a conical hill, had the air of a fortress rather than a religious establishment. But, though the walls were of stone, the roof was composed of a light thatch, as usual in countries where rain seldom or never falls, and where defence, consequently, is wanted chiefly against the rays of the sun.

Presenting himself at the lower entrance of the temple, Hernando Pizarro was refused admittance by the guardians of the portal. But, exclaiming that "he had come too far to be stayed by the arm of an Indian priest," he forced his way into the passage, and, followed by his men, wound up the gallery which led to an area on the summit of the mount, at one end of which stood a sort of chapel. This was the sanctuary of the dread deity. The door was garnished with ornaments of crystal and with turquoises and bits of coral.⁸ Here again the Indians would have dissuaded Pizarro from violating the consecrated precincts, when at that moment the shock of an

author and Miguel Estete, the royal *veedor* or inspector, accompanied Hernando Pizarro on this expedition, and, of course, were eye-witnesses, like himself, of what they relate. Estete's narrative is incorporated by the secretary Xerez in his own.

"Esta puerta era muy tejida de diversas cosas de corales y turquesas y cristales y otras cosas." *Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.

earthquake, that made the ancient walls tremble to their foundation, so alarmed the natives, both those of Pizarro's own company and the people of the place, that they fled in dismay, nothing doubting that their incensed deity would bury the invaders under the ruins or consume them with his lightnings. But no such terror found its way into the breasts of the Conquerors, who felt that here, at least, they were fighting the good fight of the Faith.

Tearing open the door, Pizarro and his party entered. But, instead of a hall blazing, as they had fondly imagined, with gold and precious stones, offerings of the worshippers of Pachacamac, they found themselves in a small and obscure apartment, or rather den, from the floor and sides of which steamed up the most offensive odors,—like those of a slaughter-house. It was the place of sacrifice. A few pieces of gold and some emeralds were discovered on the ground, and, as their eyes became accommodated to the darkness, they discerned in the most retired corner of the room the figure of the deity. It was an uncouth monster, made of wood, with the head resembling that of a man. This was the god through whose lips Satan had breathed forth the far-famed oracles which had deluded his Indian votaries!⁹

⁹ “Aquel era Pachacama, el cual les sanaba de sus enfermedades, y á lo que allí se entendió, el Demonio aparecía en aquella cueba á aquellos sacerdotes y hablaba con ellos, y estos entraban con las peticiones y ofrendas de los que venían en romería, que es cierto que del todo el Señorío de Atabalica iban allí, como los Moros y Turcos van á la casa de Meca.” *Relacion del primer Descub.* MS.—Also Estete, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 209.

Tearing the idol from its recess, the indignant Spaniards dragged it into the open air and there broke it into a hundred fragments. The place was then purified, and a large cross, made of stone and plaster, was erected on the spot. In a few years the walls of the temple were pulled down by the Spanish settlers, who found there a convenient quarry for their own edifices. But the cross still remained spreading its broad arms over the ruins. It stood where it was planted in the very heart of the stronghold of heathendom; and, while all was in ruins around it, it proclaimed the permanent triumphs of the Faith.

The simple natives, finding that Heaven had no bolts in store for the Conquerors, and that their god had no power to prevent the profanation of his shrine, came in gradually and tendered their homage to the strangers, whom they now regarded with feelings of superstitious awe. Pizarro profited by this temper to wean them, if possible, from their idolatry; and, though no preacher himself, as he tells us, he delivered a discourse as edifying, doubtless, as could be expected from the mouth of a soldier;¹⁰ and, in conclusion, he taught them the sign of the cross, as an inestimable talisman to secure them against the future machinations of the devil.¹¹

But the Spanish commander was not so absorbed in his spiritual labors as not to have an eye to those temporal concerns for which he had

¹⁰ "E á falta de predicador les hice mi sermon, diciendo el engaño en que vivian." Carta de Hern. Pizarro, MS.

¹¹ Ibid., MS.—Relacion del primer Descub., MS.—Estete, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 209.

been sent to this quarter. He now found, to his chagrin, that he had come somewhat too late, and that the priests of Pachacamac, being advised of his mission, had secured much the greater part of the gold and decamped with it before his arrival. A quantity was afterwards discovered buried in the grounds adjoining.¹² Still, the amount obtained was considerable, falling little short of eighty thousand castellanos, a sum which once would have been deemed a compensation for greater fatigues than they had encountered. But the Spaniards had become familiar with gold; and their imaginations, kindled by the romantic adventures in which they had of late been engaged, indulged in visions which all the gold of Peru would scarcely have realized.

One prize, however, Hernando obtained by his expedition, which went far to console him for the loss of his treasure. While at Pachacamac, he learned that the Indian commander Chalcuchima lay with a large force in the neighborhood of Xauxa, a town of some strength at a considerable distance among the mountains. This man, who was nearly related to Atahualpa, was his most experienced general, and, together with Quizquiz, now at Cuzco, had achieved those victories at the south which placed the Inca on the throne. From his birth, his talents, and his large experience, he was accounted second to no subject in the king-

¹² "Y andando los tiēpos el capitan Rodrigo Orgoñes, y Francisco de Godoy, y otros sacaron grã summa de oro y plata de los enterramientos. Y aun se presume y tiene por cierto, que ay mucho mas: pero como no se sabe donde esta enterrado, se pierde." Cieza de Leon, Cronica, cap. 73.

dom. Pizarro was aware of the importance of securing his person. Finding that the Indian noble declined to meet him on his return, he determined to march at once on Xauxa and take the chief in his own quarters. Such a scheme, considering the enormous disparity of numbers, might seem desperate even for Spaniards. But success had given them such confidence that they hardly condescended to calculate chances.

The road across the mountains presented greater difficulties than those on the former march. To add to the troubles of the cavalry, the shoes of their horses were worn out, and their hoofs suffered severely on the rough and stony ground. There was no iron at hand, nothing but gold and silver. In the present emergency they turned even these to account; and Pizarro caused the horses of the whole troop to be shod with silver. The work was done by the Indian smiths, and it answered so well that in this precious material they found a substitute for iron during the remainder of the march.¹³

Xauxa was a large and populous place; though we shall hardly credit the assertion of the Conquerors, that a hundred thousand persons assembled habitually in the great square of the

¹³ "Hicieron hacer herrage de herraduras é clavos para sus Caballos de Plata, los cuales hicieron los cien Indios fundidores muy buenos é cuantos quisieron de ellos, con el cual herrage andubieron dos meses." (Oviedo, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 16.) The author of the *Relacion del primer Descubrimiento*, MS., says they shod the horses with silver and copper. And another of the Peruvian Conquerors assures us they used gold and silver. (*Relatione d'un Capitano Spagnuolo ap. Ramusio, Navigazioni et Viaggi, Venetia, 1563, tom. iii. fol. 376.*) All agree as to the silver.

city.¹⁴ * The Peruvian commander was encamped, it was said, with an army of five-and-thirty thousand men, at only a few miles' distance from the town. With some difficulty he was persuaded to an interview with Pizarro. The latter addressed him courteously, and urged his return with him to the Castilian quarters in Caxamalca, representing it as the command of the Inca. Ever since the capture of his master, Chalcuchima had remained uncertain what course to take. The capture of the Inca in this sudden and mysterious manner by a race of beings who seemed to have dropped from the clouds, and that too in the very hour of his triumph, had entirely bewildered the Peruvian chief. He had concerted no plan for the rescue of Atahualpa, nor, indeed, did he know whether any such movement would be acceptable to him. He now acquiesced in his commands, and was willing, at all events, to have a personal interview with his sovereign. Pizarro gained his end without being obliged to strike a single blow to effect it. The barbarian, when brought into contact with the white man, would seem to have been rebuked by his superior genius, in the same manner as the wild animal of the forest is said to quail before the steady glance of the hunter.

Chalcuchima came attended by a numerous retinue. He was borne in his sedan on the shoulders

¹⁴ "Era mucha la Gente de aquel Pueblo, i de sus Comarcas, que al parecer de los Españoles, se juntaban cada Dia en la Plaza Principal cien mil Personas." Estete, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 230.

* [Its population may now be 3000 or 4000. It is quite impossible that 100,000 persons ever assembled in the great plaza.—M.]

of his vassals, and, as he accompanied the Spaniards on their return through the country, received everywhere from the inhabitants the homage paid only to the favorite of a monarch. Yet all this pomp vanished on his entering the presence of the Inca, whom he approached with his feet bare, while a light burden, which he had taken from one of the attendants, was laid on his back. As he drew near, the old warrior, raising his hands to heaven, exclaimed, "Would that I had been here!—this would not then have happened;" then, kneeling down, he kissed the hands and feet of his royal master and bathed them with his tears. Atahualpa, on his part, betrayed not the least emotion, and showed no other sign of satisfaction at the presence of his favorite counsellor than by simply bidding him welcome. The cold demeanor of the monarch contrasted strangely with the loyal sensibility of the subject.¹⁵

The rank of the Inca placed him at an immeasurable distance above the proudest of his vassals; and the Spaniards had repeated occasion to admire the ascendancy which, even in his present fallen fortunes, he maintained over his people, and the awe with which they approached him. Pedro Pizarro records an interview, at which he was present, between Atahualpa and one of his great nobles, who had obtained leave to visit some remote part of the country on condition of returning by a certain day. He was detained somewhat

¹⁵ Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—"The like of it," exclaims Estete, "was never before seen since the Indies were discovered." *Ibid.*, p. 231.

beyond the appointed time, and on entering the presence with a small propitiatory gift for his sovereign his knees shook so violently that it seemed, says the chronicler, as if he would have fallen to the ground. His master, however, received him kindly, and dismissed him without a word of rebuke.¹⁶

Atahualpa in his confinement continued to receive the same respectful treatment from the Spaniards as hitherto. They taught him to play with dice, and the more intricate game of chess, in which the royal captive became expert, and loved to beguile with it the tedious hours of his imprisonment. Towards his own people he maintained as far as possible his wonted state and ceremonial. He was attended by his wives and the girls of his harem, who, as was customary, waited on him at table and discharged the other menial offices about his person. A body of Indian nobles were stationed in the antechamber, but never entered the presence unbidden; and when they did enter it they submitted to the same humiliating ceremonies imposed on the greatest of his subjects. The service of his table was gold and silver plate. His dress, which he often changed, was composed of the wool of the vicuña wrought into mantles, so fine that it had the appearance of silk. He sometimes exchanged these for a robe made of the skins of bats, as soft and sleek as velvet. Round his head he wore the *llautu*, a woollen turban or shawl of the most delicate texture, wreathed in folds of various bright colors; and he still con-

¹⁶ Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

tinued to encircle his temples with the *borla*, the crimson threads of which, mingled with gold, descended so as partly to conceal his eyes. The image of royalty had charms for him, when its substance had departed. No garment or utensil that had once belonged to the Peruvian sovereign could ever be used by another. When he laid it aside, it was carefully deposited in a chest, kept for the purpose, and afterwards burned. It would have been sacrilege to apply to vulgar uses that which had been consecrated by the touch of the Inca.¹⁷

Not long after the arrival of the party from Pachacamac, in the latter part of May, the three emissaries returned from Cuzco. They had been very successful in their mission. Owing to the Inca's order, and the awe which the white men now inspired throughout the country, the Spaniards had everywhere met with a kind reception. They had been carried on the shoulders of the natives in the *hamacas*, or sedans, of the country; and, as they had travelled all the way to the capital on the great imperial road, along which relays of Indian carriers were established at stated intervals, they performed this journey of more than six hundred miles, not only without inconvenience, but with the most luxurious ease. They passed through many populous towns, and always found the simple natives disposed to venerate them as beings of a superior nature. In Cuzco

¹⁷ This account of the personal habits of Atahualpa is taken from Pedro Pizarro, who saw him often in his confinement. As his curious narrative is little known, I have extracted the original in Appendix No. 9.

they were received with public festivities, were sumptuously lodged, and had every want anticipated by the obsequious devotion of the inhabitants.

Their accounts of the capital confirmed all that Pizarro had before heard of the wealth and population of the city. Though they had remained more than a week in this place, the emissaries had not seen the whole of it. The great temple of the Sun they found literally covered with plates of gold. They had entered the interior and beheld the royal mummies, seated each in his gold-embossed chair and in robes profusely covered with ornaments. The Spaniards had the grace to respect these, as they had been previously enjoined by the Inca; but they required that the plates which garnished the walls should be all removed. The Peruvians most reluctantly acquiesced in the commands of their sovereign to desecrate the national temple, which every inhabitant of the city regarded with peculiar pride and veneration. With less reluctance they assisted the Conquerors in stripping the ornaments from some of the other edifices, where the gold, however, being mixed with a larger proportion of alloy, was of much less value.¹⁸

The number of plates they tore from the temple of the Sun was seven hundred; and though of no great thickness, probably, they are compared in size to the lid of a chest, ten or twelve inches

¹⁸ Rel. d'un Capitano Spagn., ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 375.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 5, lib. 2, cap. 12, 13.

wide.¹⁹ A cornice of pure gold encircled the edifice, but so strongly set in the stone that it fortunately defied the efforts of the spoilers. The Spaniards complained of the want of alacrity shown by the Indians in the work of destruction, and said that there were other parts of the city containing buildings rich in gold and silver which they had not been allowed to see. In truth, their mission, which at best was a most ungrateful one, had been rendered doubly annoying by the manner in which they had executed it. The emissaries were men of a very low stamp, and, puffed up by the honors conceded to them by the natives, they looked on themselves as entitled to these, and contemned the poor Indians as a race immeasurably beneath the European. They not only showed the most disgusting rapacity, but treated the highest nobles with wanton insolence. They even went so far, it is said, as to violate the privacy of the convents, and to outrage the religious sentiments of the Peruvians by their scandalous amours with the Virgins of the Sun. The people of Cuzco were so exasperated that they would have laid violent hands on them, but for their habitual reverence for the Inca, in whose name the Spaniards had come there. As it was, the Indians collected as much gold as was necessary to satisfy their unworthy visitors, and got rid of them as speedily as possible.²⁰ It was a great mistake in Pizarro to send such men. There were

¹⁹ "I de las Chapas de oro, que esta Casa tenia, quitaron setecientas Planchas . . . à manera de Tablas de Caxas de à tres, i à quatro palmos de largo." Xerez, Conq. del Peru, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 232.

²⁰ Herrera, Hist. general, ubi supra.

persons, even in his company, who, as other occasions showed, had some sense of self-respect, if not respect for the natives.

The messengers brought with them, besides silver, full two hundred *cargas* or loads of gold.²¹ This was an important accession to the contributions of Atahualpa; and, although the treasure was still considerably below the mark prescribed, the monarch saw with satisfaction the time drawing nearer for the completion of his ransom.

Not long before this, an event had occurred which changed the condition of the Spaniards and had an unfavorable influence on the fortunes of the Inca. This was the arrival of Almagro at Caxamalca, with a strong reinforcement. That chief had succeeded, after great efforts, in equipping three vessels and assembling a body of one hundred and fifty men, with which he sailed from Panamá the latter part of the preceding year. On his voyage he was joined by a small additional force from Nicaragua, so that his whole strength amounted to one hundred and fifty foot and fifty horse, well provided with the munitions of war. His vessels were steered by the old pilot Ruiz; but, after making the Bay of St. Matthew, he crept slowly along the coast, baffled as usual by winds and currents, and experiencing

²¹ So says Pizarro's secretary: "I vinieron docientas cargas de Oro, i veinte i cinco de Plata." (Xerez, Conq. del Peru, ap. Barcia, ubi supra.) A load, he says, was brought by four Indians. "Cargas de Palligueros, que las traen quatro Indios." The meaning of *palligueros*—not a Spanish word—is doubtful. Ternaux-Compans supposes, ingeniously enough, that it may have something of the same meaning with *palanquin*, to which it bears some resemblance.

all the hardships incident to that protracted navigation. From some cause or other, he was not so fortunate as to obtain tidings of Pizarro; and so disheartened were his followers, most of whom were raw adventurers, that when arrived at Puerto Viejo they proposed to abandon the expedition and return at once to Panamá. Fortunately, one of the little squadron which Almagro had sent forward to Tumbez brought intelligence of Pizarro and of the colony he had planted at San Miguel. Cheered by the tidings, the cavalier resumed his voyage, and succeeded at length, towards the close of December, 1582, in bringing his whole party safe to the Spanish settlement.

He there received the account of Pizarro's march across the mountains, his seizure of the Inca, and, soon afterwards, of the enormous ransom offered for his liberation. Almagro and his companions listened with undisguised amazement to this account of his associate, and of a change in his fortunes so rapid and wonderful that it seemed little less than magic. At the same time he received a caution from some of the colonists not to trust himself in the power of Pizarro, who was known to bear him no good will.

Not long after Almagro's arrival at San Miguel, advices were sent of it to Caxamalca, and a private note from his secretary Perez informed Pizarro that his associate had come with no purpose of co-operating with him, but with the intention to establish an independent government. Both of the Spanish captains seem to have been surrounded by mean and turbulent spirits, who

sought to embroil them with each other, trusting, doubtless, to find their own account in the rupture. For once, however, their malicious machinations failed.

Pizarro was overjoyed at the arrival of so considerable a reinforcement, which would enable him to push his fortunes as he had desired, and go forward with the conquest of the country. He laid little stress on the secretary's communication, since, whatever might have been Almagro's original purpose, Pizarro knew that the richness of the vein he had now opened in the land would be certain to secure his co-operation in working it. He had the magnanimity, therefore,—for there is something magnanimous in being able to stifle the suggestions of a petty rivalry in obedience to sound policy,—to send at once to his ancient comrade, and invite him, with many assurances of friendship, to Caxamalca. Almagro, who was of a frank and careless nature, received the communication in the spirit in which it was made, and, after some necessary delay, directed his march into the interior. But before leaving San Miguel, having become acquainted with the treacherous conduct of his secretary, he recompensed his treason by hanging him on the spot.²²

Almagro reached Caxamalca about the middle of February, 1533. The soldiers of Pizarro came out to welcome their countrymen, and the two captains embraced each other with every mark of

²² Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. pp. 204, 205.—*Relacion sumaria*, MS.—*Conq.* i *Pob. del Piru*, MS.—*Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 5, lib. 3, cap. 1.

cordial satisfaction. All past differences were buried in oblivion, and they seemed only prepared to aid one another in following up the brilliant career now opened to them in the conquest of an empire.

There was one person in Caxamalca on whom this arrival of the Spaniards produced a very different impression from that made on their own countrymen. This was the Inca Atahualpa. He saw in the newcomers only a new swarm of locusts to devour his unhappy country; and he felt that, with his enemies thus multiplying around him, the chances were diminished of recovering his freedom, or of maintaining it if recovered. A little circumstance, insignificant in itself, but magnified by superstition into something formidable, occurred at this time to cast an additional gloom over his situation.

A remarkable appearance, somewhat of the nature of a meteor, or it may have been a comet, was seen in the heavens by some soldiers and pointed out to Atahualpa. He gazed on it with fixed attention for some minutes, and then exclaimed, with a dejected air, that "a similar sign had been seen in the skies a short time before the death of his father Huayna Capac."²³ From this day a sadness seemed to take possession of him, as he looked with doubt and undefined dread to the future. Thus it is that in seasons of danger the mind, like the senses, becomes morbidly acute in its perceptions, and the least departure from

²³ Rel. d'un Capitano Spagn., ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 377.—Cieza de Leon, Cronica, cap. 65.

the regular course of nature, that would have passed unheeded in ordinary times, to the superstitious eye seems pregnant with meaning, as in some way or other connected with the destiny of the individual.

CHAPTER VII

IMMENSE AMOUNT OF TREASURE — ITS DIVISION
AMONG THE TROOPS — RUMORS OF A RISING —
TRIAL OF THE INCA—HIS EXECUTION—REFLEC-
TIONS

1588

THE arrival of Almagro produced a considerable change in Pizarro's prospects, since it enabled him to resume active operations and push forward his conquests in the interior. The only obstacle in his way was the Inca's ransom, and the Spaniards had patiently waited, till the return of the emissaries from Cuzco swelled the treasure to a large amount, though still below the stipulated limit. But now their avarice got the better of their forbearance, and they called loudly for the immediate division of the gold. To wait longer would only be to invite the assault of their enemies, allured by a bait so attractive. While the treasure remained uncounted, no man knew its value, nor what was to be his own portion. It was better to distribute it at once, and let every one possess and defend his own. Several, moreover, were now disposed to return home and take their share of the gold with them, where they could place it in safety. But these were few; while much the larger part were only anxious to leave their present quarters and march at once to Cuzco. More gold, they thought, awaited them

in that capital than they could get here by prolonging their stay; while every hour was precious, to prevent the inhabitants from secreting their treasures, of which design they had already given indication.

Pizarro was especially moved by the last consideration; and he felt that without the capital he could not hope to become master of the empire. Without further delay, the division of the treasure was agreed upon.

Yet, before making this, it was necessary to reduce the whole to ingots of a uniform standard, for the spoil was composed of an infinite variety of articles, in which the gold was of very different degrees of purity. These articles consisted of goblets, ewers, salvers, vases of every shape and size, ornaments and utensils for the temples and the royal palaces, tiles and plates for the decoration of the public edifices, curious imitations of different plants and animals. Among the plants, the most beautiful was the Indian corn, in which the golden ear was sheathed in its broad leaves of silver, from which hung a rich tassel of threads of the same precious metal. A fountain was also much admired, which sent up a sparkling jet of gold, while birds and animals of the same material played in the waters at its base. The delicacy of the workmanship of some of these, and the beauty and ingenuity of the design, attracted the admiration of better judges than the rude Conquerors of Peru.¹

¹ *Relatione de Pedro Sancho*, ap. Ramusio, *Viaggi*, tom. iii. fol. 399.—*Xerxes, Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 233.—Zarate,

Before breaking up these specimens of Indian art, it was determined to send a quantity, which should be deducted from the royal fifth, to the emperor. It would serve as a sample of the ingenuity of the natives, and would show him the value of his conquests. A number of the most beautiful articles was selected, of the value of a hundred thousand ducats, and Hernando Pizarro was appointed to be the bearer of them to Spain. He was to obtain an audience of Charles, and at the same time that he laid the treasures before him he was to give an account of the proceedings of the Conquerors, and to seek a further augmentation of their powers and dignities.

No man in the army was better qualified for this mission, by his address and knowledge of affairs, than Hernando Pizarro; no one would be so likely to urge his suit with effect at the haughty Castilian court. But other reasons influenced the selection of him at the present juncture.

His former jealousy of Almagro still rankled in his bosom, and he had beheld that chief's arrival at the camp with feelings of disgust, which he did not care to conceal. He looked on him as coming to share the spoils of victory and defraud his brother of his legitimate honors. Instead of exchanging the cordial greetings proffered by Almagro at their first interview, the arrogant cavalier held back in sullen silence. His brother

Conq. del Peru, lib. 2, cap. 7.—Oviedo saw at St. Domingo the articles which Hernando Pizarro was bearing to Castile; and he expatiates on several beautifully wrought vases, richly chased, of very fine gold, and measuring twelve inches in height and thirty round. Hist. de las Indias, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 16.

Francis was greatly displeased at conduct which threatened to renew their ancient feud, and he induced Hernando to accompany him to Almagro's quarters and make some acknowledgment for his uncourteous behavior.³ But, notwithstanding this show of reconciliation, the general thought the present a favorable opportunity to remove his brother from the scene of operations, where his factious spirit more than counterbalanced his eminent services.³

The business of melting down the plate was intrusted to the Indian goldsmiths, who were thus required to undo the work of their own hands. They toiled day and night, but such was the quantity to be recast that it consumed a full month. When the whole was reduced to bars of a uniform standard, they were nicely weighed, under the superintendence of the royal inspectors. The total amount of the gold was found to be one million three hundred and twenty-six thousand five hundred and thirty-nine *pesos de oro*, which, allowing for the greater value of money in the sixteenth century, which would be equivalent, probably, at the present time, to near *three millions and a half of pounds sterling*, or somewhat less than *fifteen millions and a half of dollars*.⁴

³ Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 5, lib. 2, cap. 3.

⁴ According to Oviedo, it was agreed that Hernando should have a share much larger than he was entitled to of the Inca's ransom, in the hope that he would feel so rich as never to desire to return again to Peru: "Trabajaron de le embiar rico por quitarle de entre ellos, y porque yendo muy rico como fue no tubiese voluntad de tornar á aquellas partes." Hist. de las Indias, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 16.

⁵ Acta de Reparticion del Rescate de Atahualpa, MS.—Xeres, Conq. del Peru, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 239.—In reducing the sums

The quantity of silver was estimated at fifty-one thousand six hundred and ten marks. History

mentioned in this work, I have availed myself—as I before did, in the History of the Conquest of Mexico—of the labors of Señor Clemencin, formerly Secretary of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid. This eminent scholar, in the sixth volume of the Memoirs of the Academy, prepared wholly by himself, has introduced an elaborate essay on the value of the currency in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. Although this period—the close of the fifteenth century—was somewhat earlier than that of the Conquest of Peru, yet his calculations are sufficiently near the truth for our purpose, since the Spanish currency had not as yet been much affected by that disturbing cause, the influx of the precious metals from the New World. In inquiries into the currency of a remote age, we may consider, in the first place, the specific value of the coin,—that is, the value which it derives from the weight, purity, etc., of the metal, circumstances easily determined. In the second place, we may inquire into the commercial or comparative worth of the money,—that is, the value founded on a comparison of the difference between the amount of commodities which the same sum would purchase formerly and at the present time. The latter inquiry is attended with great embarrassment, from the difficulty of finding any one article which may be taken as the true standard of value. Wheat, from its general cultivation and use, has usually been selected by political economists as this standard; and Clemencin has adopted it in his calculations. Assuming wheat as the standard, he has endeavored to ascertain the value of the principal coins in circulation at the time of the “Catholic Kings.” He makes no mention in his treatise of the *peso de oro*, by which denomination the sums in the early part of the sixteenth century were more frequently expressed than by any other. But he ascertains both the specific and the commercial value of the *castellano*, which several of the old writers, as Oviedo, Herrera, and Xerez, concur in stating as precisely equivalent to the *peso de oro*. From the results of his calculations, it appears that the specific value of the *castellano*, as stated by him in reals, is equal to *three dollars and seven cents of our own currency*, while the commercial value is nearly four times as great, or *eleven dollars sixty-seven cents, equal to two pounds twelve shillings and sixpence sterling*. By adopting this as the approximate value of the *peso de oro* in the early part of the sixteenth century, the reader may easily compute for himself the value, at that period, of the sums mentioned in these pages; most of which are expressed in that denomination. I have been the more particular in this statement since in my former work I confined myself to the commercial value of the money, which, being much greater than the specific value, founded on the quality and weight of the metal, was

affords no parallel of such a booty—and that, too, in the most convertible form, in ready money, as it were—having fallen to the lot of a little band of military adventurers, like the Conquerors of Peru. The great object of the Spanish expeditions in the New World was gold. It is remarkable that their success should have been so complete. Had they taken the track of the English, the French, or the Dutch, on the shores of the northern continent, how different would have been the result! It is equally worthy of remark that the wealth thus suddenly acquired, by diverting them from the slow but surer and more permanent sources of national prosperity, has in the end glided from their grasp and left them among the poorest of the nations of Christendom.

A new difficulty now arose in respect to the division of the treasure. Almagro's followers claimed to be admitted to a share of it; which, as they equalled and, indeed, somewhat exceeded in number Pizarro's company, would reduce the gains of these last very materially. "We were not here, it is true," said Almagro's soldiers to their comrades, "at the seizure of the Inca, but we have taken our turn in mounting guard over him since his capture, have helped you to defend

thought by an ingenious correspondent to give the reader an exaggerated estimate of the sums mentioned in the history. But it seems to me that it is only this comparative or commercial value with which the reader has any concern, indicating what amount of commodities any given sum represents, that he may thus know the real worth of that sum,—thus adopting the principle, though conversely stated, of the old Hudibrastic maxim,—

"What is worth in any thing,
But so much money as 't will bring?"

your treasures, and now give you the means of going forward and securing your conquests. It is a common cause," they urged, "in which all are equally embarked, and the gains should be shared equally between us."

But this way of viewing the matter was not at all palatable to Pizarro's company, who alleged that Atahualpa's contract had been made exclusively with them; that they had seized the Inca, had secured the ransom, had incurred, in short, all the risk of the enterprise, and were not now disposed to share the fruits of it with every one who came after them. There was much force, it could not be denied, in this reasoning, and it was finally settled between the leaders that Almagro's followers should resign their pretensions for a stipulated sum of no great amount, and look to the career now opened to them for carving out their fortunes for themselves.

This delicate affair being thus harmoniously adjusted, Pizarro prepared, with all solemnity, for a division of the imperial spoil. The troops were called together in the great square, and the Spanish commander, "with the fear of God before his eyes," says the record, "invoked the assistance of Heaven to do the work before him conscientiously and justly."⁵ The appeal may seem somewhat out of place at the distribution of spoil so unrighteously acquired; yet in truth, considering the magnitude of the treasure, and the power

⁵ "Segun Dios Nuestro Señor se diere á entender teniendo su conciencia y para lo mejor hazer pedia al ayuda de Dios Nuestro Señor, é imboco el auxilio divino." Acta de Reparticion del Rescate, MS.

assumed by Pizarro to distribute it according to the respective deserts of the individuals, there were few acts of his life involving a heavier responsibility. On his present decision might be said to hang the future fortunes of each one of his followers,—poverty or independence during the remainder of his days.

The royal fifth was first deducted, including the remittance already sent to Spain. The share appropriated by Pizarro amounted to fifty-seven thousand two hundred and twenty-two pesos of gold, and two thousand three hundred and fifty marks of silver. He had besides this the great chair or throne of the Inca, of solid gold, and valued at twenty-five thousand *pesos de oro*. To his brother Hernando were paid thirty-one thousand and eighty pesos of gold, and two thousand three hundred and fifty marks of silver. De Soto received seventeen thousand seven hundred and forty pesos of gold, and seven hundred and twenty-four marks of silver. Most of the remaining cavalry, sixty in number, received each eight thousand eight hundred and eighty pesos of gold, and three hundred and sixty-two marks of silver, though some had more, and a few considerably less. The infantry mustered in all one hundred and five men. Almost one-fifth of them were allowed, each, four thousand four hundred and forty pesos of gold, and one hundred and eighty marks of silver, half of the compensation of the troopers. The remainder received one-fourth part less; though here again there were exceptions, and some were obliged to content

themselves with a much smaller share of the spoil.⁶ *

The new church of San Francisco, the first Christian temple in Peru, was endowed with two thousand two hundred and twenty pesos of gold. The amount assigned to Almagro's company was not excessive, if it was not more than twenty thousand pesos;⁷ and that reserved for the colonists of San Miguel, which amounted only to fifteen thousand pesos, was unaccountably small.⁸ There were among them certain soldiers who, at an early period of the expedition, as the reader may remember, abandoned the march and returned to San Miguel. These, certainly, had little claim to be remembered in the division of booty. But the greater part of the colony consisted of invalids, men whose health had been broken by their previous hardships, but who still, with a stout and

⁶ The particulars of the distribution are given in the *Acta de Repartición del Rescate*, an instrument drawn up and signed by the royal notary. The document, which is therefore of unquestionable authority, is among the MSS. selected for me from the collection of Muñoz.

⁷ "Se diese á la gente que vino con el Capitan Diego de Almagro para ayuda á pagar sus deudas y fletes y suplir algunas necesidades que traian, veinte mil pesos." (*Acta de Repartición del Rescate*, MS.) Herrera says that 100,000 pesos were paid to Almagro's men. (*Hist. general*, dec. 5, lib. 2, cap. 3.) But it is not so set down in the instrument.

⁸ "En treinta personas que quedaron en la ciudad de san Miguel de Piura dolientes y otros que no vinieron ni se hallaron en la prision de Atagualpa y toma del oro porque algunos son pobres y otros tienen necesidad señalaba 15,000 p^a de oro para los repartir S. Señoría entre las dichas personas." *Ibid.*, MS.

* [Report on the Distribution of the Ransom of Atahualpa, by Pedro Sancho (Notary), Translated by C. R. Markham. Published by the Hakluyt Society in the "Reports on the Discovery of Peru."—M.]

willing heart, did good service in their military post on the sea-coast. On what grounds they had forfeited their claims to a more ample remuneration it is not easy to explain.

Nothing is said, in the partition, of Almagro himself, who, by the terms of the original contract, might claim an equal share of the spoil with his associate. As little notice is taken of Luque, the remaining partner. Luque himself was, indeed, no longer to be benefited by worldly treasure. He had died a short time before Almagro's departure from Panamá;⁹ too soon to learn the full success of the enterprise, which, but for his exertions, must have failed; too soon to become acquainted with the achievements and the crimes of Pizarro. But the Licentiate Espinosa, whom he represented, and who, it appears, had advanced the funds for the expedition, was still living at St. Domingo, and Luque's pretensions were explicitly transferred to him. Yet it is unsafe to pronounce, at this distance of time, on the authority of mere negative testimony; and it must be admitted to form a strong presumption in favor of Pizarro's general equity in the distribution, that no complaint of it has reached us from any of the parties present, nor from contemporary chroniclers.¹⁰

⁹ Montesinos, *Annales*, MS., año 1533.

¹⁰ The "Spanish Captain," several times cited, who tells us he was one of the men appointed to guard the treasure, does indeed complain that a large quantity of gold vases and other articles remained undivided, a palpable injustice, he thinks, to the honest Conquerors, who had earned all by their hardships. (*Rel. d'un Capitano Spagn.*, ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 378, 379.) The writer, throughout his *Relation*, shows a full measure of the coarse and covetous spirit which marked the adventurers of Peru.

The division of the ransom being completed by the Spaniards, there seemed to be no further obstacle to their resuming active operations and commencing the march to Cuzco. But what was to be done with Atahualpa? In the determination of this question, whatever was expedient was just.¹¹ To liberate him would be to set at large the very man who might prove their most dangerous enemy,—one whose birth and royal station would rally round him the whole nation, place all the machinery of government at his control, and all its resources,—one, in short, whose bare word might concentrate all the energies of his people against the Spaniards, and thus delay for a long period, if not wholly defeat, the conquest of the country. Yet to hold him in captivity was attended with scarcely less difficulty; since to guard so important a prize would require such a division of their force as must greatly cripple its strength, and how could they expect, by any vigilance, to secure their prisoner against rescue in the perilous passes of the mountains?

The Inca himself now loudly demanded his freedom. The proposed amount of the ransom had, indeed, not been fully paid. It may be doubted whether it ever would have been, considering the embarrassments thrown in the way by the guardians of the temples, who seemed disposed to secrete the treasures, rather than despoil these sacred depositories to satisfy the cupidity of the

¹¹ "Y esto tenia por justo, pues era provechoso." It is the sentiment imputed to Pizarro by Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 5, lib. 3, cap. 4.

strangers. It was unlucky, too, for the Indian monarch that much of the gold, and that of the best quality, consisted of flat plates or tiles, which, however valuable, lay in a compact form that did little towards swelling the heap. But an immense amount had been already realized, and it would have been a still greater one, the Inca might allege, but for the impatience of the Spaniards. At all events, it was a magnificent ransom, such as was never paid by prince or potentate before.

These considerations Atahualpa urged on several of the cavaliers, and especially on Hernando de Soto, who was on terms of more familiarity with him than Pizarro. De Soto reported Atahualpa's demands to his leader; but the latter evaded a direct reply. He did not disclose the dark purposes over which his mind was brooding.¹² Not long afterwards he caused the notary to prepare an instrument in which he fully acquitted the Inca of further obligation in respect to the ransom. This he commanded to be publicly proclaimed in the camp, while at the same time he openly declared that the safety of the Spaniards required that the Inca should be detained in confinement until they were strengthened by additional reinforcements.¹³

¹² "I como no abundaban los designios que tenia le replicaban; pero él respondia, que iba mirando en ello." Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 5, lib 3, cap. 4.

¹³ "Fatta quella fusione, il Governatore fece vn atto innansi al notaro nel quale liberaua il Cacique Atabalipa et l'absolueua della promessa et parola che haueua data a gli Spagnuoli che lo presero della casa d'oro c'haueua lor cōcessa, il quale fece publicar publicamēte a suon di trombe nella piazza di quella città di Caxamalca." (Pedro Sancho, Rel., ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 399.) The authority is un-

Meanwhile the old rumors of a meditated attack by the natives began to be current among the soldiers. They were repeated from one to another, gaining something by every repetition. An immense army, it was reported, was mustering at Quito, the land of Atahualpa's birth, and thirty thousand Caribs were on their way to support it.¹⁴ The Caribs were distributed by the early Spaniards rather indiscriminately over the different parts of America, being invested with peculiar horrors as a race of cannibals.

It was not easy to trace the origin of these rumors. There was in the camp a considerable number of Indians, who belonged to the party of Huascar, and who were, of course, hostile to Atahualpa. But his worst enemy was Felipillo, the interpreter from Tumbes, already mentioned in these pages. This youth had conceived a passion for, or, as some say, had been detected in an intrigue with, one of the royal concubines.¹⁵

impeachable,—for any fact, at least, that makes against the Conquerors,—since the *Relations* was by one of Pizarro's own secretaries, and was authorized under the hands of the general and his great officers.

¹⁴ "De la gente Natural de Quito vienen docientos mil Hombres de Guerra, i treinta mil Caribes, que comen Carne Humana." Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 233.—See also Pedro Sancho, *Rel.*, ap. Ramusio, ubi supra.

¹⁵ "Pues estando así atravesose un demonio de una lengua que se desia felipillo uno de los muchachos que el marquez avia llevado á España que al presente hera lengua y andava enamorado de una muger de Atabalipa." Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—The amour and the malice of Felipillo, which, Quintana seems to think, rest chiefly on Garcilasso's authority (see *Españoles célebres*, tom. ii. p. 210, nota), are stated very explicitly by Zarate, Naharro, Gomara, Balboa, all contemporaneous, though not, like Pedro Pizarro, personally present in the army.

The circumstance had reached the ears of Atahualpa, who felt himself deeply outraged by it. "That such an insult should have been offered by so base a person was an indignity," he said, "more difficult to bear than his imprisonment;"¹⁶ and he told Pizarro "that, by the Peruvian law, it could be expiated, not by the criminal's own death alone, but by that of his whole family and kindred."¹⁷ But Felipillo was too important to the Spaniards to be dealt with so summarily; nor did they probably attach such consequence to an offence which, if report be true, they had countenanced by their own example.¹⁸ Felipillo, however, soon learned the state of the Inca's feelings towards himself, and from that moment he regarded him with deadly hatred. Unfortunately, his malignant temper found ready means for its indulgence.

The rumors of a rising among the natives pointed to Atahualpa as the author of it. Challucuma was examined on the subject, but avowed his entire ignorance of any such design, which he pronounced a malicious slander. Pizarro next laid the matter before the Inca himself, repeating to him the stories in circulation, with the air of one who believed them. "What treason is this," said the general, "that you have meditated against me,—me, who have ever treated you with honor,

¹⁶ "Diciendo que sentia mas aquel desacato, que su prision." Zarate, *Conq. del Peru*, lib. 2, cap. 7.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

¹⁸ "É le habían tomado sus mugeres é repartidolas en su presencia é usaban de ellas de sus adulterios." Oviedo, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 22.

confiding in your words, as in those of a brother?" "You jest," replied the Inca, who perhaps did not feel the weight of this confidence; "you are always jesting with me. How could I or my people think of conspiring against men so valiant as the Spaniards? Do not jest with me thus, I beseech you." ¹⁹ "This," continues Pizarro's secretary, "he said in the most composed and natural manner, smiling all the while to dissemble his falsehood, so that we were all amazed to find such cunning in a barbarian." ²⁰

But it was not with cunning, but with the consciousness of innocence, as the event afterwards proved, that Atahualpa thus spoke to Pizarro. He readily discerned, however, the causes, perhaps the consequences, of the accusation. He saw a dark gulf opening beneath his feet; and he was surrounded by strangers, on none of whom he could lean for counsel or protection. The life of the captive monarch is usually short; and Atahualpa might have learned the truth of this, when he thought of Huascar. Bitterly did he now lament the absence of Hernando Pizarro, for, strange as it may seem, the haughty spirit of this cavalier had been touched by the condition of the royal prisoner, and he had treated him with a deference which won for him the peculiar regard and confidence of the Indian. Yet the latter lost

¹⁹ "Burlaste conmigo? siempre me hablas cosas de burlas? Que parte somos Yo, i toda mi Gente, para enojar à tan valientes Hombrés como vosotros? No me digas esas burlas." Xerez, Conq. del Peru, ap. Barcia, tom. lli. p. 234.

²⁰ "De que los Españoles que se las han oído, están espantados de ver en vn Hombre Barbaro tanta prudencia." Ibid., loc. cit.

no time in endeavoring to efface the general's suspicions and to establish his own innocence. "Am I not," said he to Pizarro, "a poor captive in your hands? How could I harbor the designs you impute to me, when I should be the first victim of the outbreak? And you little know my people, if you think that such a movement would be made without my orders; when the very birds in my dominions," said he, with somewhat of an hyperbole, "would scarcely venture to fly contrary to my will."²¹

But these protestations of innocence had little effect on the troops; among whom the story of a general rising of the natives continued to gain credit every hour. A large force, it was said, was already gathered at Huamachuco, not a hundred miles from the camp, and their assault might be hourly expected. The treasure which the Spaniards had acquired afforded a tempting prize, and their own alarm was increased by the apprehension of losing it. The patrols were doubled. The horses were kept saddled and bridled. The soldiers slept on their arms; Pizarro went the rounds regularly to see that every sentinel was on his post. The little army, in short, was in a state of preparation for instant attack.

Men suffering from fear are not likely to be too scrupulous as to the means of removing the cause of it. Murmurs, mingled with gloomy menaces, were now heard against the Inca, the author of these machinations. Many began to demand his

²¹ "Pues si Yo no lo quiero, ni las Aves bolaràn en mi Tierra." Zarate, *Conq. del Peru*, lib. 2, cap. 7.

life, as necessary to the safety of the army. Among these the most vehement were Almagro and his followers. They had not witnessed the seizure of Atahualpa. They had no sympathy with him in his fallen state. They regarded him only as an encumbrance, and their desire now was to push their fortunes in the country, since they had got so little of the gold of Caxamalca. They were supported by Riquelme, the treasurer, and by the rest of the royal officers. These men had been left at San Miguel by Pizarro, who did not care to have such official spies on his movements. But they had come to the camp with Almagro, and they loudly demanded the Inca's death, as indispensable to the tranquillity of the country and the interests of the crown.²²

To these dark suggestions Pizarro turned—or seemed to turn—an unwilling ear, showing visible reluctance to proceed to extreme measures with his prisoner.²³ They were some few, and among others Hernando de Soto, who supported him in these views, and who regarded such measures as not at all justified by the evidence of Atahualpa's guilt. In this state of things, the Spanish commander determined to send a small detachment to Huamachuco, to reconnoitre the country and ascertain what ground there was for the rumors of

²² Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—*Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.—*Ped. Sancho, Rel.*, ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 400.—These cavaliers were all present in the camp.

²³ "Aunque contra voluntad del dicho Gobernador, que nunca estubo bien en ello."—*Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.—So also Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—*Ped. Sancho, Rel.*, ap. Ramusio, ubi supra.

an insurrection. De Soto was placed at the head of the expedition, which, as the distance was not great, would occupy but a few days.

After that cavalier's departure, the agitation among the soldiers, instead of diminishing, increased to such a degree that Pizarro, unable to resist their importunities, consented to bring Atahualpa to instant trial. It was but decent, and certainly safer, to have the forms of a trial. A court was organized, over which the two captains, Pizarro and Almagro, were to preside as judges. An attorney-general was named to prosecute for the crown, and counsel was assigned to the prisoner.

The charges preferred against the Inca, drawn up in the form of interrogatories, were twelve in number. The most important were, that he had usurped the crown and assassinated his brother Huascar; that he had squandered the public revenues since the conquest of the country by the Spaniards, and lavished them on his kindred and his minions; that he was guilty of idolatry, and of adulterous practices, indulging openly in a plurality of wives; finally, that he had attempted to excite an insurrection against the Spaniards.²⁴

²⁴ The specification of the charges against the Inca is given by Garcilasso de la Vega. (*Com. Real.*, Parte 2, lib. 1, cap. 37.) One could have wished to find them specified by some of the actors in the tragedy. But Garcilasso had access to the best sources of information, and where there was no motive for falsehood, as in the present instance, his word may probably be taken.—The fact of a process being formally instituted against the Indian monarch is explicitly recognized by several contemporary writers, by Gomara, Oviedo, and Pedro Sancho. Oviedo characterizes the indictment as "a badly contrived and worse written document, devised by a factious and un-

These charges, most of which had reference to national usages, or to the personal relations of the Inca, over which the Spanish conquerors had clearly no jurisdiction, are so absurd that they might well provoke a smile, did they not excite a deeper feeling. The last of the charges was the only one of moment in such a trial; and the weakness of this may be inferred from the care taken to bolster it up with the others. The mere specification of the articles must have been sufficient to show that the doom of the Inca was already sealed.

A number of Indian witnesses were examined, and their testimony, filtrated through the interpretation of Felipillo, received, it is said, when necessary, a very different coloring from that of the original. The examination was soon ended, and "a warm discussion," as we are assured by one of Pizarro's own secretaries, "took place in respect to the probable good or evil that would result from the death of Atahualpa."²⁵ It was a question of expediency. He was found guilty,—whether of all the crimes alleged we are not in-

principled priest, a clumsy notary without conscience, and others of the like stamp, who were all concerned in this villany." *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 22.) Most authorities agree in the two principal charges,—the assassination of Huascar, and the conspiracy against the Spaniards.

"Doppo l'essersi molto disputato, et ragionato del danno et vtile che saria potuto auuenire per il viuere o morire di Atabalipa, fu risoluto che si facesse giustitia di lui." *Ped. Sancho*, *Rel.*, ap. *Ramusio*, tom. iii. fol. 400.) It is the language of a writer who may be taken as the mouthpiece of Pizarro himself. According to him, the conclave which agitated this "question of expediency" consisted of the "officers of the crown and those of the army, a certain doctor learned in the law, that chanced to be with them, and the reverend Father Vicente de Valverde."

formed,—and he was sentenced to be burnt alive in the great square of Caxamalca. The sentence was to be carried into execution that very night. They were not even to wait for the return of De Soto, when the information he would bring would go far to establish the truth or the falsehood of the reports respecting the insurrection of the natives. It was desirable to obtain the countenance of Father Valverde to these proceedings, and a copy of the judgment was submitted to the friar for his signature, which he gave without hesitation, declaring that, “in his opinion, the Inca, at all events, deserved death.”²⁸

Yet there were some few in that martial conclave who resisted these high-handed measures. They considered them as a poor requital of all the favors bestowed on them by the Inca, who hitherto had received at their hands nothing but wrong. They objected to the evidence as wholly insufficient; and they denied the authority of such a tribunal to sit in judgment on a sovereign prince in the heart of his own dominions. If he were to be tried, he should be sent to Spain, and his cause brought before the emperor, who alone had power to determine it.

But the great majority—and they were ten to one—overruled these objections, by declaring there was no doubt of Atahualpa's guilt, and they were willing to assume the responsibility of his punishment. A full account of the proceed-

²⁸ “Respondió, que firmaría, que era bastante, para que el Inga fuese condenado á muerte, porque aun en lo exterior quisieron justificar su intento.” Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 5, lib. 3, cap. 4.

ings would be sent to Castile, and the emperor should be informed who were the loyal servants of the crown, and who were its enemies. The dispute ran so high that for a time it menaced an open and violent rupture; till, at length, convinced that resistance was fruitless, the weaker party, silenced, but not satisfied, contented themselves with entering a written protest against these proceedings, which would leave an indelible stain on the names of all concerned in them.²⁷

When the sentence was communicated to the Inca, he was greatly overcome by it. He had, indeed, for some time, looked to such an issue as

"Garcilasso has preserved the names of some of those who so courageously, though ineffectually, resisted the popular cry for the Inca's blood." (Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 1, cap. 37.) They were doubtless correct in denying the right of such a tribunal to sit in judgment on an independent prince like the Inca of Peru, but not so correct in supposing that their master the emperor had a better right. Vattel (book ii. ch. 4) especially animadvert on this pretended trial of Atahualpa, as a manifest outrage on the law of nations.

* [1. Hernando de Soto. Discoverer of the Mississippi.

2. Francisco de Chaves. Murdered while defending Pizarro against his assassins. Zarate esteemed him the most important man in Peru, next to Pizarro.

3. Diego de Chaves. Brother of 2.

4. Francisco de Fuentes.

5. Pedro de Ayala.

6. Diego de Mora. Became Corregidor of Lima.

7. Francisco Moscoso.

8. Hernando de Haro.

9. Pedro de Mendoza.

10. Juan de Herrada. A strong partisan of Almagro.

11. Alonso de Avila.

12. Blas de Atienza. Balboa says that Atienza was of those who crossed the line with Pizarro.

The names of De Soto, Francisco de Chaves, De Fuentes, and De Mendoza appear in the list of those who shared the ransom of Atahualpa. Markham thinks the others must have come with Almagro.—M.]

probable, and had been heard to intimate as much to those about him. But the probability of such an event is very different from its certainty,—and that, too, so sudden and speedy. For a moment, the overwhelming conviction of it unmanned him, and he exclaimed, with tears in his eyes, “What have I done, or my children, that I should meet such a fate? And from your hands, too,” said he, addressing Pizarro; “you, who have met with friendship and kindness from my people, with whom I have shared my treasures, who have received nothing but benefits from my hands!” In the most piteous tones, he then implored that his life might be spared, promising any guarantee that might be required for the safety of every Spaniard in the army,—promising double the ransom he had already paid, if time were only given him to obtain it.²⁸

An eye-witness assures us that Pizarro was visibly affected, as he turned away from the Inca, to whose appeal he had no power to listen in opposition to the voice of the army and to his own sense of what was due to the security of the country.²⁹ Atahualpa, finding he had no power to turn his Conqueror from his purpose, recovered his habitual self-possession, and from that moment submitted himself to his fate with the courage of an Indian warrior.

²⁸ Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 5, lib. 3, cap. 4.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 2, cap. 7.

²⁹ “I myself,” says Pedro Pizarro, “saw the general weep.” “*Yo vide llorar al marques de pesar por no podelle dar la vida porque cierto temio los requirimientos y el riesgo que avia en la tierra si se soltava.*” Descub. y Conq., MS.

The doom of the Inca was proclaimed by sound of trumpet in the great square of Caxamalca; and, two hours after sunset, the Spanish soldiery assembled by torch-light in the *plaza* to witness the execution of the sentence. It was on the twenty-ninth of August, 1533. Atahualpa was led out chained hand and foot,—for he had been kept in irons ever since the great excitement had prevailed in the army respecting an assault. Father Vicente de Valverde was at his side, striving to administer consolation, and, if possible, to persuade him at this last hour to abjure his superstition and embrace the religion of his Conquerors. He was willing to save the soul of his victim from the terrible expiation in the next world to which he had so cheerfully consigned his mortal part in this.

During Atahualpa's confinement, the friar had repeatedly expounded to him the Christian doctrines, and the Indian monarch discovered much acuteness in apprehending the discourse of his teacher. But it had not carried conviction to his mind, and, though he listened with patience, he had shown no disposition to renounce the faith of his fathers. The Dominican made a last appeal to him in this solemn hour; and, when Atahualpa was bound to the stake, with the fagots that were to kindle his funeral pile lying around him, Valverde, holding up the cross, besought him to embrace it and be baptized, promising that, by so doing, the painful death to which he had been sentenced should be commuted for the milder form of the *garrote*,—a mode of pun-

ishment by strangulation, used for criminals in Spain.³⁰

The unhappy monarch asked if this were really so, and, on its being confirmed by Pizarro, he consented to abjure his own religion and receive baptism. The ceremony was performed by Father Valverde, and the new convert received the name of Juan de Atahualpa,—the name of Juan being conferred in honor of John the Baptist, on whose day the event took place.³¹

Atahualpa expressed a desire that his remains might be transported to Quito, the place of his birth, to be preserved with those of his maternal ancestors. Then, turning to Pizarro, as a last request, he implored him to take compassion on his young children and receive them under his protection. Was there no other one in that dark company who stood grimly around him, to whom he could look for the protection of his offspring? Perhaps he thought there was no other so competent to afford it, and that the wishes so solemnly expressed in that hour might meet with respect even from his Conqueror. Then, recovering his stoical bearing, which for a moment had been shaken, he submitted himself calmly to his fate,

³⁰ Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 234.—Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—*Conq. i Pob. del Piru*, MS.—Ped. Sancho, *Rel.*, ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 400.—The *garrote* is a mode of execution by means of a noose drawn round the criminal's neck, to the back part of which a stick is attached. By twisting this stick the noose is tightened and suffocation is produced. This was the mode, probably, of Atahualpa's execution. In Spain, instead of the cord, an iron collar is substituted, which, by means of a screw, is compressed round the throat of the sufferer.

³¹ Velasco, *Hist. de Quito*, tom. i. p. 373



THE INCA ATAHUALIPA

the same way.

"Then, I was
so, and I was
sent to
the
V."

"I was taken to the
and expressed
I was transported
to be preserved
the stores. Then, turn
quest, he implored his
young children and
fection. Was there
any who stood up
to look for the
things he thought
to afford them
I said in that
from the Co
local family
taken, he said."

*Xerez, Com. del Peru, p. 1
Carro, Des. y Comq, MS.
enche, Rel. de Rancos, tom
of execution by means of a noose at
the back part of a tree. The
is the only one of the
reported cases
of the
of the



Figura 4-17. Puma

and by the permission of the conqueror, he was in the habit of visiting the Indians.

One day, however, he asked himself if he were really a conqueror, and if he were not, he concluded by Pizarro, he concluded that he was his own Indian and receive baptism. The ceremony was performed by Father Juan de Salazar, and the new convert received the name of Juan de Mena, the name of Juan being the name of the saint John the Baptist, on whose festival the event took place.¹

At La Oroya he expressed a desire that his remains should be transported to Quilo, the place of his birth, to be preserved with those of his maternal ancestors. Then, turning to Pizarro, as a last request, he implored him to have compassion on his young children and to see that they were well protected. Was there no one to take his place? Who stood ready and willing to whom he should look for his protection and his discipline? He asked himself if there were any so competent to do so, and that he answered so solemnly that he was that he would meet with respect and reverence as Conqueror. Then, recovering his strength, which for a moment had been shaken, he resigned himself calmly to his fate.

¹ Ximenes, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 234.—Pedro Pizarro, *Relacion y Conq.*, MS.—*Conq. del Peru*, MS.—Pedro Sanchez, *Conq.*, ap. Roussier, tom. iii. fol. 44v. ² The *jarrote* is a noose drawn round the criminal's neck, and by means of a stick is attached. By twisting this stick, death and suffocation is produced. This was the mode of execution at Azimuh's execution. In Spain, instead of the *jarrote*, the screw is substituted, which, by means of a screw, is applied to the throat of the sufferer.

³ *Relacion y Conq.*, ap. Barcia, tom. i. p. 372.



Fig. 4. B. 1. 1. 1. 1.

was saved by strangulation, and buried in a hole in the ground.¹⁰

At length, when married, a few children were really born to him, and, being converted by Pizarro, he converted them to his own religion and receive baptism. The ceremony was performed by Father Valverde, and the first-born child received the name of Juan, in honor of the saint, the name of Juan being the name of the first John the Baptist, on whose feast the ceremony took place.¹¹

Atahualpa expressed a desire that his remains should be transported to Quito, the place of his birth, to be preserved with those of his maternal ancestors. Then, turning to Pizarro, as a last request, he implored him to take compassion on his young children and receive them under his protection. Was there no other man so dark-complexioned who stood so boldly against him to whom he could look for the protection of his offspring? He was bold, but there was no one so competent to defend him, and that he would do so solemnly vowed. At the hour appointed to meet with respect the conqueror. Then, recovering his strength, which for a moment had been shaken, he submitted himself calmly to his fate.

¹⁰ Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Borgia, tom. III. p. 224.—Pizarro, *Descripcion y Conq.*, MS.—*Conq. del Peru*, MS.—*Proc. Sanctos*, 4to, ap. Hamusio, 666. *ML 467-469*. *La garrote* is a mode of execution by means of a noose drawn round the criminal's

throat, the part of which a stick is attached. By twisting the stick the noose is tightened and suffocation is produced. This was the mode of execution of Alvarado's execution. In Spain, instead of the stick, a screw is substituted, which, by means of a screw, is twisted round the throat of the sufferer.

¹¹ Borgia, *de Quito*, tom. I. p. 372.



Original in C. P. Paris.

confronted by strong arguments for Catholicism in Spain.³⁰

The undying monarch asked if this were really so, and on being assured by Pizarro, he consented to leave his own religion and receive baptism. The ceremony was performed by Father Valverde, and the new convert received the name of Juan de Almagro, the name of Juan being substituted for John the Baptist, on whose feast the event took place.³¹

Atacampa expressed a desire that his remains should be transported to Quito, the place of his birth, to be preserved with those of his maternal ancestors. Then, turning to Pedro, as a last request, he implored him to take compassion on his young children and receive them under his protection. Was there no other man of dark complexion who stood gaily around?—to whom he might look for the protection of his offspring? It appears that there was no other so competent to answer, and that the viceroy so solemnly pronounced his hour must meet with respect even to his Conqueror. Then, recovering his staid composure, which for a moment had been shaken, he resigned himself calmly to his fate.

³⁰ Xerica, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 234.—Pedro Pizarro, *Descripción y Conq.* MS.—*Conq. del Pobl. del Piru*, MS.—P. Sarmiento, *Del.*, ap. Ramusio, fol. 381/382. The *garrate* is a name for a

execution by means of a noose drawn round the criminal's neck, the thick part of which a stick is attached. By twisting the stick round and round, suffocation is produced. This was the mode of execution at Atacampa's execution. In Spain, instead of the stick, a screw is substituted, which, by means of a screw, is turned round the throat of the sufferer.

³¹ *de Quito*, tom. i. p. 372.



Original at N. Y. Public

sent by stringent laws, as in the case of the Jews in Spain.³⁰

The undying monarch asked if this were really so, and on being informed by Pizarro, he consented to baptize his own religion and receive baptism. The ceremony was performed by Father Valverde, and the new convert received the name of *Don Juan Almagro*, the name of Juan being substituted for that of John the Baptist, on whose feast the event took place.³¹

Almagro expressed a desire that his remains should be transported to Quito, the place of his birth, to be preserved with those of his maternal ancestors. Then, turning to Pizarro, as a last request, he implored him to take compassion on his young children and receive them under his protection. Was there no other eye in that dark company who stood gaily around him to whom he could look for the protection of his offspring? Was he then, as there was no other so competent to say? He said that the vultures so solemnly executed their hour might meet with respect even the *Conquistador*. Then, recovering his strength, he said, which for a moment had been shaken, and yielded himself calmly to his fate.

³⁰Xerez, *Conq. del Peru*, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 234.—Pedro Pizarro, *Descripción y Conq. del Perú*, *Conq. del Perú*, MS.—Pedro Sanchez, *Rel.*, ap. Ramusio, *Vol.* III. fol. 246. The *jarrate* is a mode of execution by means of a noose drawn round the criminal.

³¹The *jarrate* is the mode of which a stick is attached. By twisting the stick the neck is broken and suffocation is produced. This was the mode of execution usually in Spain. In Spain, instead of the *jarrate*, the *garrote* is substituted, which, by means of a screw, is twisted round of the sufferer.

³²de Quito, tom. i. p. 312.



Original: B. C. P. Paris

—while the Spaniards, gathering around, muttered their *credos* for the salvation of his soul!³² Thus by the death of a vile malefactor perished the last of the Incas!

I have already spoken of the person and the qualities of Atahualpa. He had a handsome countenance, though with an expression somewhat too fierce to be pleasing. His frame was muscular and well proportioned; his air commanding; and his deportment in the Spanish quarters had a degree of refinement, the more interesting that it was touched with melancholy. He is accused of having been cruel in his wars and bloody in his revenge.³³ It may be true, but the pencil of an

³² "Ma quando se lo vidde appressare per douer esser morto, disse che raccomandaua al Gouvernatore i suoi piccioli figliuoli che volesse tenersegli appresso, & con queste ultime parole, & dicendo per l'anima sua li Spagnuoli che erano all' intorno il Credo, fu subito affogato." Ped. Sancho, Rel., ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 399.—Xerez, Conq. del Peru. ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 234.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Naharro, Relacion sumaria, MS.—Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.—Relacion del primer Descub., MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 2, cap. 7.—The death of Atahualpa has many points of resemblance to that of Caupolican, the great Araucanian chief, as described in the historical epic of Ercilla. Both embraced the religion of their conquerors at the stake, though Caupolican was so far less fortunate than the Peruvian monarch that his conversion did not save him from the tortures of a most agonising death. He was impaled and shot with arrows. The spirited verses reflect so faithfully the character of these early adventurers, in which the fanaticism of the Crusader was mingled with the cruelty of the conqueror, and they are so germane to the present subject, that I would willingly quote the passage were it not too long. See *La Araucana*, Parte 2, canto 24.

³³ "Thus he paid the penalty of his errors and cruelties," says Xerez, "for he was the greatest butcher, as all agree, that the world ever saw; making nothing of rasing a whole town to the ground for the most trifling offence, and massacring a thousand persons for the fault of one!" (Conq. del Peru, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 234.) Xerez was the private secretary of Pizarro. Sancho, who, on the departure of Xerez for Spain, succeeded him in the same office, pays a more

enemy would be likely to overcharge the shadows of the portrait. He is allowed to have been bold, high-minded, and liberal.³⁴ All agree that he showed singular penetration and quickness of perception. His exploits as a warrior had placed his valor beyond dispute. The best homage to it is the reluctance shown by the Spaniards to restore him to freedom. They dreaded him as an enemy, and they had done him too many wrongs to think that he could be their friend. Yet his conduct towards them from the first had been most friendly; and they repaid it with imprisonment, robbery, and death.

The body of the Inca remained on the place of execution through the night. The following morning it was removed to the church of San Francisco, where his funeral obsequies were performed with great solemnity. Pizarro and the principal cavaliers went into mourning, and the troops listened with devout attention to the service of the dead from the lips of Father Valverde.³⁵ The ceremony was interrupted by the sound of loud cries and wailing, as of many voices at the doors of the church. These were suddenly thrown open, and a number of Indian women, the wives

decent tribute to the memory of the Inca, who, he trusts, "is received into glory, since he died penitent for his sins, and in the true faith of a Christian." *Ped. Sancho, Rel., ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 399.*

³⁴ "El hera muy regalado, y muy Señor," says Pedro Pizarro. (*Descub. y Conq., MS.*) "Muy dispuesto, sabio, animoso, franco," says Gomara. (*Hist. de las Ind., cap. 118.*)

³⁵ The secretary Sancho seems to think that the Peruvians must have regarded these funeral honors as an ample compensation to Atahualpa for any wrongs he may have sustained, since they at once raised him to a level with the Spaniards! *Ibid., loc. cit.*

and sisters of the deceased, rushing up the great aisle, surrounded the corpse. This was not the way, they cried, to celebrate the funeral rites of an Inca; and they declared their intention to sacrifice themselves on his tomb and bear him company to the land of spirits. The audience, outraged by this frantic behavior, told the intruders that Atahualpa had died in the faith of a Christian, and that the God of the Christians abhorred such sacrifices. They then caused the women to be excluded from the church, and several, retiring to their own quarters, laid violent hands on themselves, in the vain hope of accompanying their beloved lord to the bright mansions of the Sun.³⁶

Atahualpa's remains, notwithstanding his request, were laid in the cemetery of San Francisco.³⁷ But from thence, as is reported, after the Spaniards left Caxamalca, they were secretly removed, and carried, as he had desired, to Quito. The colonists of a later time supposed that some treasures might have been buried with the body. But, on excavating the ground, neither treasure nor remains were to be discovered.³⁸

³⁶ *Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS. See Appendix No. 10, where I have cited in the original several of the contemporary notices of Atahualpa's execution, which being in manuscript are not very accessible, even to Spaniards.

³⁷ "Oí dicen los indios que está su sepulcro junto á una Cruz de Piedra Blanca que esta en el Cementerio del Convento de S^a Francisco." Montesinos, *Annales*, MS., año 1533.

³⁸ Oviedo, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 22.—According to Stevenson, "In the chapel belonging to the common gaol, which was formerly part of the palace, the altar stands on the stone on which Atahualpa was placed by the Spaniards and strangled, and under which he was buried." (*Residence in South America*, vol. II. p. 163.) Montesinos, who wrote more than a century after the Con-

A day or two after these tragic events, Hernando de Soto returned from his excursion. Great was his astonishment and indignation at learning what had been done in his absence. He sought out Pizarro at once, and found him, says the chronicler, "with a great felt hat, by way of mourning, slouched over his eyes," and in his dress and demeanor exhibiting all the show of sorrow.³⁹ "You have acted rashly," said De Soto to him bluntly; "Atahualpa has been basely slandered. There was no enemy at Huamachuco; no rising among the natives. I have met with nothing on the road but demonstrations of good will, and all is quiet. If it was necessary to bring the Inca to trial, he should have been taken to Castile and judged by the emperor. I would have pledged myself to see him safe on board the vessel."⁴⁰ Pizarro confessed that he had been precipitate, and said that he had been deceived by Riquelme, Valverde, and the others. These charges soon reached the ears of the treasurer and the Dominican, who, in their turn, exculpated themselves, and upbraided Pizarro to his face, as the only one responsible for the deed. The dispute ran high; and the parties were heard by the by-standers to give one another

quest, tells us that "spots of blood were still visible on a broad flagstone, in the prison of Caxamalca, on which Atahualpa was beheaded." (*Annales*, MS., año 1533.)—Ignorance and credulity could scarcely go further.

³⁹ "Hallaronle mostrando mucho sentimiento con un gran sombrero de fieltro puesto en la cabeza por luto é muy calado sobre los ojos." Oviedo, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 93.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, MS., ubi supra.—Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—See Appendix No. 10.

the lie! ⁴¹ This vulgar squabble among the leaders, so soon after the event, is the best commentary on the iniquity of their own proceedings and the innocence of the Inca.

The treatment of Atahualpa, from first to last, forms undoubtedly one of the darkest chapters in Spanish colonial history. There may have been massacres perpetrated on a more extended scale, and executions accompanied with a greater refinement of cruelty. But the blood-stained annals of the Conquest afford no such example of cold-hearted and systematic persecution, not of an enemy, but of one whose whole deportment had been that of a friend and a benefactor.

From the hour that Pizarro and his followers had entered within the sphere of Atahualpa's influence, the hand of friendship had been extended to them by the natives. Their first act, on crossing the mountains, was to kidnap the monarch and massacre his people. The seizure of his person might be vindicated, by those who considered the end as justifying the means, on the ground that it was indispensable to secure the triumphs of the Cross. But no such apology can be urged for the massacre of the unarmed and helpless population,—as wanton as it was wicked.

⁴¹ This remarkable account is given by Oviedo, not in the body of his narrative, but in one of those supplementary chapters which he makes the vehicle of the most miscellaneous, yet oftentimes important, gossip, respecting the great transactions of his history. As he knew familiarly the leaders in these transactions, the testimony which he collected, somewhat at random, is of high authority. The reader will find Oviedo's account of the Inca's death extracted, in the original, among the other notices of this catastrophe, in Appendix No. 10.

The long confinement of the Inca had been used by the Conquerors to wring from him his treasures with the hard gripe of avarice. During the whole of this dismal period he had conducted himself with singular generosity and good faith. He had opened a free passage to the Spaniards through every part of his empire, and had furnished every facility for the execution of their plans. When these were accomplished, and he remained an encumbrance on their hands, notwithstanding their engagement, expressed or implied, to release him,—and Pizarro, as we have seen, by a formal act acquitted his captive of any further obligation on the score of the ransom,—he was arraigned before a mock tribunal, and, under pretences equally false and frivolous, was condemned to an excruciating death. From first to last, the policy of the Spanish conquerors towards their unhappy victim is stamped with barbarity and fraud.

It is not easy to acquit Pizarro of being in a great degree responsible for this policy. His partisans have labored to show that it was forced on him by the necessity of the case, and that in the death of the Inca, especially, he yielded reluctantly to the importunities of others.⁴² But, weak as is this apology, the historian who has the means of comparing the various testimony of the period

⁴² "Contra su voluntad sentencio á muerte á Atabalpa." (Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.) "Contra voluntad del dicho Gobernador." (Relacion del primer Descub., MS.) "Ancora che molto li dispiacesse di venir a questo atto." (Ped. Sancho, Rel., ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 399.) Even Oviedo seems willing to admit it possible that Pizarro may have been somewhat deceived by others: "Que tambien se puede creer que era engañado." Hist. de las Indias, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 22.

will come to a different conclusion. To him it will appear that Pizarro had probably long felt the removal of Atahualpa to be essential to the success of his enterprise. He foresaw the odium that would be incurred by the death of his royal captive without sufficient grounds; while he labored to establish these, he still shrank from the responsibility of the deed, and preferred to perpetrate it in obedience to the suggestions of others, rather than his own. Like many an unprincipled politician, he wished to reap the benefit of a bad act and let others bear the blame of it.

Almagro and his followers are reported by Pizarro's secretaries to have first insisted on the Inca's death. They were loudly supported by the treasurer and the royal officers, who considered it as indispensable to the interests of the crown; and, finally, the rumors of a conspiracy raised the same cry among the soldiers, and Pizarro, with all his tenderness for his prisoner, could not refuse to bring him to trial. The form of a trial was necessary to give an appearance of fairness to the proceedings. That it was only form is evident from the indecent haste with which it was conducted,—the examination of evidence, the sentence, and the execution being all on the same day. The multiplication of the charges, designed to place the guilt of the accused on the strongest ground, had, from their very number, the opposite effect, proving only the determination to convict him. If Pizarro had felt the reluctance to his conviction which he pretended, why did he send De Soto, Atahualpa's best friend, away, when

the inquiry was to be instituted? Why was the sentence so summarily executed, as not to afford opportunity, by that cavalier's return, of disproving the truth of the principal charge,—the only one, in fact, with which the Spaniards had any concern? The solemn farce of mourning and deep sorrow affected by Pizarro, who by these honors to the dead would intimate the sincere regard he had entertained for the living, was too thin a veil to impose on the most credulous.

It is not intended by these reflections to exculpate the rest of the army, and especially its officers, from their share in the infamy of the transaction. But Pizarro, as commander of the army, was mainly responsible for its measures. For he was not a man to allow his own authority to be wrested from his grasp, or to yield timidly to the impulses of others. He did not even yield to his own. His whole career shows him, whether for good or for evil, to have acted with a cool and calculating policy.

A story has been often repeated, which refers the motives of Pizarro's conduct, in some degree at least, to personal resentment. The Inca had requested one of the Spanish soldiers to write the name of God on his nail. This the monarch showed to several of his guards successively, and, as they read it, and each pronounced the same word, the sagacious mind of the barbarian was delighted with what seemed to him little short of a miracle,—to which the science of his own nation afforded no analogy. On showing the writing to Pizarro, that chief remained silent; and the Inca,

finding he could not read, conceived a contempt for the commander who was even less informed than his soldiers. This he did not wholly conceal, and Pizarro, aware of the cause of it, neither forgot nor forgave it.⁴³ The anecdote is reported not on the highest authority. It may be true; but it is unnecessary to look for the motives of Pizarro's conduct in personal pique, when so many proofs are to be discerned of a dark and deliberate policy.

Yet the arts of the Spanish chieftain failed to reconcile his countrymen to the atrocity of his proceedings. It is singular to observe the difference between the tone assumed by the first chroniclers of the transaction, while it was yet fresh, and that of those who wrote when the lapse of a few years had shown the tendency of public opinion. The first boldly avow the deed as demanded by expediency, if not necessity; while they deal in no measured terms of reproach with the character of their unfortunate victim.⁴⁴ The latter, on the other hand, while they extenuate the errors of the Inca, and do justice to his good faith, are unreserved in their condemnation of the Con-

⁴³ The story is to be found in Garcilasso de la Vega (*Com. Real*, Parte 2, cap. 38), and in no other writer of the period, so far as I am aware.

⁴⁴ I have already noticed the lavish epithets heaped by Xerez on the Inca's cruelty. This account was printed in Spain, in 1534, the year after the execution. "The proud tyrant," says the other secretary, Sancho, "would have repaid the kindness and good treatment he had received from the governor and every one of us with the same coin with which he usually paid his own followers, without any fault on their part,—by putting them to death." (*Ped. Sancho, Rel.*, ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 399.) "He deserved to die," says the old Spanish Conqueror before quoted, "and all the country was rejoiced that he was put out of the way." *Rel. d'un Capitano Spagn.*, ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 377.

querors, on whose conduct, they say, Heaven set the seal of its own reprobation, by bringing them all to an untimely and miserable end.⁴⁶ The sentence of contemporaries has been fully ratified by that of posterity;⁴⁶ and the persecution of Atahualpa is regarded with justice as having left a stain, never to be effaced, on the Spanish arms in the New World.

⁴⁶ "Las demostraciones que despues se vieron bien manifiestan lo mui injusta que fué, . . . puesto que todos quantos entendieron en ella tuvieron despues mui desastradas muertes." (Naharro, *Relacion sumaria*, MS.) Gomara uses nearly the same language. "No ai que reprehender à los que le mataron, pues el tiempo, i sus pacados los castigaron despues; cà todos ellos acabaron mal." (*Hist. de las Ind.*, cap. 118.) According to the former writer, Felipillo paid the forfeit of his crimes, some time afterwards,—being hanged by Almagro on the expedition to Chili,—when, as "*some say*, he confessed having perverted testimony given in favor of Atahualpa's innocence, directly against that monarch." Oviedo, usually ready enough to excuse the excesses of his countrymen, is unqualified in his condemnation of this whole proceeding (see Appendix No. 10), which, says another contemporary, "fills every one with pity who has a spark of humanity in his bosom." *Conq. i Pob. del Piru*, MS.

⁴⁶ The most eminent example of this is given by Quintana in his memoir of Pizarro (*Espanoles célebres*, tom. ii.), throughout which the writer, rising above the mists of national prejudice, which too often blind the eyes of his countrymen, holds the scale of historic criticism with an impartial hand, and deals a full measure of reprobation to the actors in these dismal scenes.

CHAPTER VIII

DISORDERS IN PERU — MARCH TO CUZCO — ENCOUNTER WITH THE NATIVES—CHALLCUCHIMA BURN'T — ARRIVAL IN CUZCO — DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY—TREASURE FOUND THERE

1533-1534

THE Inca of Peru was its sovereign in a peculiar sense. He received an obedience from his vassals more implicit than that of any despot; for his authority reached to the most secret conduct,—to the thoughts of the individual. He was revered as more than human.¹ He was not merely the head of the state, but the point to which all its institutions converged, as to a common centre,—the keystone of the political fabric, which must fall to pieces by its own weight when that was withdrawn. So it fared on the death of Atahualpa.² His death not only left the throne

¹ "Such was the awe in which the Inca was held," says Pedro Pizarro, "that it was only necessary for him to intimate his commands to that effect, and a Peruvian would at once jump down a precipice, hang himself, or put an end to his life in any way that was prescribed." *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.

² Oviedo tells us that the Inca's right name was *Atabalipa*, and that the Spaniards usually misspelt it, because they thought much more of getting treasure for themselves than they did of the name of the person who owned it. (*Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 16.) Nevertheless, I have preferred the authority of Garcilasso, who, a Peruvian himself, and a near kinsman of the Inca, must be supposed to have been well informed. His countrymen, he says, pretended that the cocks imported into Peru by the Spaniards, when they crowed,

vacant, without any certain successor, but the manner of it announced to the Peruvian people that a hand stronger than that of their Incas had now seized the sceptre, and that the dynasty of the Children of the Sun had passed away forever.

The natural consequences of such a conviction followed. The beautiful order of the ancient institutions was broken up, as the authority which controlled it was withdrawn. The Indians broke out into greater excesses from the uncommon restraint to which they had been before subjected. Villages were burnt, temples and palaces were plundered, and the gold they contained was scattered or secreted. Gold and silver acquired an importance in the eyes of the Peruvian, when he saw the importance attached to them by his conquerors. The precious metals, which before served only for purposes of state or religious decoration, were now hoarded up and buried in caves and forests. The gold and silver concealed by the natives were affirmed greatly to exceed in quantity that which fell into the hands of the Spaniards.² The remote provinces now shook off their allegiance to the Incas. Their great captains, at the head of distant armies, set up for themselves. Ruminavi, a commander on the borders of Quito, sought to detach that kingdom

uttered the name of Atahualpa; "and I and the other Indian boys," adds the historian, "when we were at school, used to mimic them." *Com. Real.*, Parte 1, lib. 9, cap. 23.

² "That which the Inca gave the Spaniards, said some of the Indian nobles to Benalcazar, the conqueror of Quito, was but as a kernel of corn, compared with a heap before him." (*Oviedo, Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 22.) See also Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—*Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.

from the Peruvian empire and to reassert its ancient independence. The country, in short, was in that state in which old things are passing away and the new order of things has not yet been established. It was in a state of revolution.

The authors of the revolution, Pizarro and his followers, remained meanwhile at Caxamalca. But the first step of the Spanish commander was to name a successor to Atahualpa. It would be easy to govern under the venerated authority to which the homage of the Indians had been so long paid; and it was not difficult to find a successor. The true heir to the crown was a second son of Huayna Capac, named Manco, a legitimate brother of the unfortunate Huascar. But Pizarro had too little knowledge of the dispositions of this prince; and he made no scruple to prefer a brother of Atahualpa and to present him to the Indian nobles as their future Inca. We know nothing of the character of the young Toparca, who probably resigned himself without reluctance to a destiny which, however humiliating in some points of view, was more exalted than he could have hoped to obtain in the regular course of events. The ceremonies attending a Peruvian coronation were observed, as well as time would allow; the brows of the young Inca were encircled with the imperial *borla* by the hands of his conqueror, and he received the homage of his Indian vassals. They were the less reluctant to pay it, as most of those in the camp belonged to the faction of Quito.

All thoughts were now eagerly turned towards

Cuzco, of which the most glowing accounts were circulated among the soldiers, and whose temples and royal palaces were represented as blazing with gold and silver. With imaginations thus excited, Pizarro and his entire company, amounting to almost five hundred men, of whom nearly a third, probably, were cavalry, took their departure early in September from Caxamalca,—a place ever memorable as the theatre of some of the most strange and sanguinary scenes recorded in history. All set forward in high spirits,—the soldiers of Pizarro from the expectation of doubling their present riches, and Almagro's followers from the prospect of sharing equally in the spoil with "the first conquerors."⁴ The young Inca and the old chief Chalcuchima accompanied the march in their litters, attended by a numerous retinue of vassals, and moving in as much state and ceremony as if in the possession of real power.⁵

Their course lay along the great road of the Incas, which stretched across the elevated regions of the Cordilleras, all the way to Cuzco. It was of nearly a uniform breadth, though constructed with different degrees of care, according to the ground.⁶ Sometimes it crossed smooth and level valleys, which offered of themselves little impediment to the traveller; at other times it followed

⁴ The "first conquerors," according to Garcilasso, were held in especial honor by those who came after them, though they were, on the whole, men of less consideration and fortune than the later adventurers. *Com. Real.*, Parte 1, lib. 7, cap. 9.

⁵ Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—Naharro, *Relacion sumaria*, MS.—Ped. Sancho, *Rel.*, ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 400.

⁶ "Va todo el camino de una trasa y anchura hecho á mano." *Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.

the course of a mountain-stream that flowed round the base of some beetling cliff, leaving small space for the foothold; at others, again, where the sierra was so precipitous that it seemed to preclude all farther progress, the road, accommodated to the natural sinuosities of the ground, wound round the heights which it would have been impossible to scale directly.⁷

But, although managed with great address, it was a formidable passage for the cavalry. The mountain was hewn into steps, but the rocky ledges cut up the hoofs of the horses; and, though the troopers dismounted and led them by the bridle, they suffered severely in their efforts to keep their footing.⁸ The road was constructed for man and the light-footed llama; and the only heavy beast of burden at all suited to it was the sagacious and sure-footed mule, with which the Spanish adventurers were not then provided. It was a singular chance that Spain was the land of the mule; and thus the country was speedily supplied with the very animal which seems to have been created for the difficult passes of the Cordilleras.

Another obstacle, often occurring, was the deep torrents that rushed down in fury from the Andes. They were traversed by the hanging bridges of osier, whose frail materials were after a time broken up by the heavy tread of the cavalry, and the holes made in them added materially to the

⁷ "En muchas partes viendo lo que está adelante, parece cosa imposible poderlo pasar." *Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.

⁸ *Ped. Sancho, Rel., ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 404.*

dangers of the passage. On such occasions the Spaniards contrived to work their way across the rivers on rafts, swimming their horses by the bridle.⁹

All along the route they found post-houses for the accommodation of the royal couriers, established at regular intervals; and magazines of grain and other commodities, provided in the principal towns for the Indian armies. The Spaniards profited by the prudent forecast of the Peruvian government.

Passing through several hamlets and towns of some note, the principal of which were Huamachuco and Huanuco, Pizarro, after a tedious march, came in sight of the rich valley of Xauxa. The march, though tedious, had been attended with little suffering, except in crossing the bristling crests of the Cordilleras, which occasionally obstructed their path,—a rough setting to the beautiful valleys that lay scattered like gems along this elevated region. In the mountain-passes they found some inconvenience from the cold; since, to move more quickly, they had disencumbered themselves of all superfluous baggage, and were even unprovided with tents.¹⁰ The bleak winds of the mountains penetrated the thick harness of the soldiers; but the poor Indians, more scantily clothed, and accustomed to a tropical climate, suffered most severely. The

⁹ Ped. Sancho, Rel., ap. Ramusio, ubi supra.—Relacion del primer Descub., MS.

¹⁰ "La notte dormirono tutti in quella campagna senza coperto alcuno, sopra la neve, ne pur hebber souuenimento di legne ne da mangiare." Ped. Sancho, Rel., ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 401.

Spaniard seemed to have a hardihood of body, as of soul, that rendered him almost indifferent to climate.

On the march they had not been molested by enemies. But more than once they had seen vestiges of them in smoking hamlets and ruined bridges. Reports, from time to time, had reached Pizarro of warriors on his track; and small bodies of Indians were occasionally seen like dusky clouds on the verge of the horizon, which vanished as the Spaniards approached. On reaching Xauxa, however, these clouds gathered into one dark mass of warriors, which formed on the opposite bank of the river that flowed through the valley.

The Spaniards advanced to the stream, which, swollen by the melting of the snows, was now of considerable width, though not deep. The bridge had been destroyed; but the Conquerors, without hesitation, dashing boldly in, advanced, swimming and wading, as they best could, to the opposite bank. The Indians, disconcerted by this decided movement, as they had relied on their watery defences, took to flight, after letting off an impotent volley of missiles. Fear gave wings to the fugitives; but the horse and his rider were swifter, and the victorious pursuers took bloody vengeance on their enemy for having dared even to meditate resistance.

Xauxa was a considerable town. It was the place already noticed as having been visited by Hernando Pizarro. It was seated in the midst of a verdant valley, fertilized by a thousand little

rills, which the thrifty Indian husbandmen drew from the parent river that rolled sluggishly through the meadows. There were several capacious buildings of rough stone in the town, and a temple of some note in the times of the Incas. But the strong arm of Father Valverde and his countrymen soon tumbled the heathen deities from their pride of place, and established, in their stead, the sacred effigies of the Virgin and Child.

Here Pizarro proposed to halt for some days, and to found a Spanish colony. It was a favorable position, he thought, for holding the Indian mountaineers in check, while at the same time it afforded an easy communication with the sea-coast. Meanwhile he determined to send forward De Soto, with a detachment of sixty horse, to reconnoitre the country in advance, and to restore the bridges where demolished by the enemy.¹¹

That active cavalier set forward at once, but found considerable impediments to his progress. The traces of an enemy became more frequent as he advanced. The villages were burnt, the bridges destroyed, and heavy rocks and trees strewed in the path to impede the march of the cavalry. As he drew near to Bilcas, once an important place, though now effaced from the map, he had a sharp encounter with the natives, in a mountain-defile, which cost him the lives of two or three troopers.

¹¹ Carta de la Justicia y Regimiento de la Ciudad de Xauja, MS.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 5, lib. 4, cap. 10.—Relacion del primer Descub., MS.

The loss was light; but any loss was felt by the Spaniards, so little accustomed as they had been of late to resistance.

Still pressing forward, the Spanish captain crossed the river Abancay and the broad waters of the Apurimac; and, as he drew near the sierra of Vilcaconga, he learned that a considerable body of Indians lay in wait for him in the dangerous passes of the mountains. The sierra was several leagues from Cuzco; and the cavalier, desirous to reach the farther side of it before nightfall, incautiously pushed on his wearied horses. When he was fairly entangled in its rocky defiles, a multitude of armed warriors, springing, as it seemed, from every cavern and thicket of the sierra, filled the air with their war-cries, and rushed down, like one of their own mountain-torrents, on the invaders, as they were painfully toiling up the steeps. Men and horses were overturned in the fury of the assault, and the foremost files, rolling back on those below, spread ruin and consternation in their ranks. De Soto in vain endeavored to restore order, and, if possible, to charge the assailants. The horses were blinded and maddened by the missiles, while the desperate natives, clinging to their legs, strove to prevent their ascent up the rocky pathway. De Soto saw that, unless he gained a level ground which opened at some distance before him, all must be lost. Cheering on his men with the old battle-cry, that always went to the heart of a Spaniard, he struck his spurs deep into the sides of his wearied charger, and, gallantly supported by his troop, broke through

the dark array of warriors, and, shaking them off to the right and left, at length succeeded in placing himself on the broad level.

Here both parties paused, as if by mutual consent, for a few moments. A little stream ran through the plain, at which the Spaniards watered their horses;¹² and, the animals having recovered wind, De Soto and his men made a desperate charge on their assailants. The undaunted Indians sustained the shock with firmness; and the result of the combat was still doubtful, when the shades of evening, falling thicker around them, separated the combatants.

Both parties then withdrew from the field, taking up their respective stations within bow-shot of each other, so that the voices of the warriors on either side could be distinctly heard in the stillness of the night. But very different were the reflections of the two hosts. The Indians, exulting in their temporary triumph, looked with confidence to the morrow to complete it. The Spaniards, on the other hand, were proportionately discouraged. They were not prepared for this spirit of resistance in an enemy hitherto so tame. Several cavaliers had fallen,—one of them by a blow from a Peruvian battle-axe, which clove his head to the chin, attesting the power of the weapon and of the arm that used it.¹³ Several horses, too, had been killed; and the loss of these was almost as severely felt as that of their riders, considering the great cost and difficulty of trans-

¹² Ped. Sancho, Rel., ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 405.

¹³ Ped. Sancho, Rel., ap. Ramusio, loc. cit.



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the arrows, and shaking them off, and at length succeeded in placing them on a level.

The arrows were so level, as if by mutual consent, that they all fell at once. A little stream ran down the middle of the plain, and the Spaniards were redoubtably surprised to find the animals having recovered from the shock of the arrows, to be so soon able to dislocate the shafts. The mounted Indians, who were not so much alarmed by the shock with fire as by the fall of the arrows, were still doubtful when the rain began to fall, falling thicker and faster than the hail of the combatants.

Both parties then withdrew to the field, taking up their respective stations, each a bow-shot of each other, so that the voices of the warriors on either side could be distinctly heard in the darkness of the night. But very soon there was a cessation of the two hosts. The Spaniards, who were not prepared for their temporary triumph, could with difficulty wait to the morrow to combat it. The Indians, on the other hand, were properly encouraged. They were not prepared for a moment of resistance in an enemy hit!

Several cavaliers had fallen,—one by a blow from a Peruvian battle-axe, his head to the chin, attesting the power of the weapon and of the arm that used it. The horses, too, had been killed; and the loss of the Spaniards was as severely felt as that of their enemies, considering the great cost and difficulty of

Sancho, Rel., ap. Romusio, tom. i. c. 1.
 1. Sancho, Rel., ap. Romusio, loc. cit.



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porting them to these distant regions. Few either of the men or horses had escaped without wounds, and the Indian allies had suffered still more severely.

It seemed probable, from the pertinacity and a certain order maintained in the assault, that it was directed by some leader of military experience,—perhaps the Indian commander Quizquiz, who was said to be hanging round the environs of Cuzco with a considerable force.

Notwithstanding the reasonable cause of apprehension for the morrow, De Soto, like a stout-hearted cavalier as he was, strove to keep up the spirits of his followers. If they had beaten off the enemy when their horses were jaded and their own strength nearly exhausted, how much easier it would be to come off victorious when both were restored by a night's rest! and he told them to "trust in the Almighty, who would never desert his faithful followers in their extremity." The event justified De Soto's confidence in this seasonable succor.

From time to time, on his march, he had sent advices to Pizarro of the menacing state of the country, till his commander, becoming seriously alarmed, was apprehensive that the cavalier might be overpowered by the superior numbers of the enemy. He accordingly detached Almagro, with nearly all the remaining horse, to his support,—unencumbered by infantry, that he might move the faster. That efficient leader advanced by forced marches, stimulated by the tidings which met him on the road, and was so fortunate as to

reach the foot of the sierra of Vilcacongá the very night of the engagement.

There, hearing of the encounter, he pushed forward without halting, though his horses were spent with travel. The night was exceedingly dark, and Almagro, afraid of stumbling on the enemy's bivouac, and desirous to give De Soto information of his approach, commanded his trumpets to sound, till the notes, winding through the defiles of the mountains, broke the slumbers of his countrymen, sounding like blithest music in their ears. They quickly replied with their own bugles, and soon had the satisfaction to embrace their deliverers.¹⁴

Great was the dismay of the Peruvian host when the morning light discovered the fresh reinforcement of the ranks of the Spaniards. There was no use in contending with an enemy who gathered strength from the conflict, and who seemed to multiply his numbers at will. Without further attempt to renew the fight, they availed themselves of a thick fog, which hung over the lower slopes of the hills, to effect their retreat, and left the passes open to the invaders. The two cavaliers then continued their march until they extricated their forces from the sierra, when, taking up a secure position, they proposed to await there the arrival of Pizarro.¹⁵

¹⁴ Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 5, lib. 5, cap. 3.

¹⁵ The account of De Soto's affair with the natives is given in more or less detail, by Ped. Sancho, Rel., ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 405,—Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.—Relacion del primer Descub., MS.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.,—persons all present in the army.

The commander-in-chief, meanwhile, lay at Xauxa, where he was greatly disturbed by the rumors which reached him of the state of the country. His enterprise, thus far, had gone forward so smoothly that he was no better prepared than his lieutenant to meet with resistance from the natives. He did not seem to comprehend that the mildest nature might at last be roused by oppression, and that the massacre of their Inca, whom they regarded with such awful veneration, would be likely, if any thing could do it, to wake them from their apathy.

The tidings which he now received of the retreat of the Peruvians were most welcome; and he caused mass to be said, and thanksgiving to be offered up to Heaven, "which had shown itself thus favorable to the Christians throughout this mighty enterprise." The Spaniard was ever a Crusader. He was in the sixteenth century what *Cœur de Lion* and his brave knights were in the twelfth, with this difference; the cavalier of that day fought for the Cross and for glory, while gold and the Cross were the watchwords of the Spaniard. The spirit of chivalry had waned somewhat before the spirit of trade; but the fire of religious enthusiasm still burned as bright under the quilted mail of the American Conqueror as it did of yore under the iron panoply of the soldier of Palestine.

It seemed probable that some man of authority had organized, or at least countenanced, this resistance of the natives; and suspicion fell on the captive chief Challcuchima, who was accused of

maintaining a secret correspondence with his confederate Quizquiz. Pizarro waited on the Indian noble, and, charging him with the conspiracy, reproached him, as he had formerly done his royal master, with ingratitude towards the Spaniards, who had dealt with him so liberally. He concluded by the assurance that, if he did not cause the Peruvians to lay down their arms and tender their submission at once, he should be burnt alive so soon as they reached Almagro's quarters.¹⁶

The Indian chief listened to the terrible menace with the utmost composure. He denied having had any communications with his countrymen, and said that, in his present state of confinement at least, he could have no power to bring them to submission. He then remained doggedly silent, and Pizarro did not press the matter further.¹⁷ But he placed a strong guard over his prisoner, and caused him to be put in irons. It was an ominous proceeding, and had been the precursor of the death of Atahualpa.

Before quitting Xauxa, a misfortune befell the Spaniards, in the death of their creature the young Inca Toparca. Suspicion, of course, fell on Chalcuchima, now selected as the scape-goat for all the offences of his nation.¹⁸ It was a disappointment

¹⁶ Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—Ped. Sancho, *Rel.*, ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 406.

¹⁷ Ped. Sancho, *Rel.*, ap. Ramusio, *ubi supra*.

¹⁸ It seems, from the language of the letter addressed to the emperor by the municipality of Xauxa, that the troops themselves were far from being convinced of Chalcuchima's guilt: "Publico fue, aunque dello no ubo averiguacion in certenidad, que el capitan Chaliconiman le abia dado ierbas o a beber con que murio." Carta de la Just. y Reg. de Xauja, MS.

to Pizarro, who hoped to find a convenient shelter for his future proceedings under this shadow of royalty.¹⁹

The general considered it most prudent not to hazard the loss of his treasures by taking them on the march, and he accordingly left them at Xauxa, under a guard of forty soldiers, who remained there in garrison. No event of importance occurred on the road, and, Pizarro having effected a junction with Almagro, their united forces soon entered the vale of Xaquixaguana, about five leagues from Cuzco. This was one of those bright spots, so often found embosomed amidst the Andes, the more beautiful from contrast with the savage character of the scenery around it. A river flowed through the valley, affording the means of irrigating the soil and clothing it in perpetual verdure; and the rich and flowering vegetation spread out like a cultivated garden. The beauty of the place and its delicious coolness commended it as a residence for the Peruvian nobles, and the sides of the hills were dotted with their villas, which afforded them a grateful retreat in the heats of summer.²⁰ Yet the centre of the valley was disfigured by a quagmire of some

¹⁹ According to Velasco, Toparca, whom, however, he calls by another name, tore off the diadem bestowed on him by Pizarro, with disdain, and died in a few weeks of chagrin. (*Hist. de Quito*, tom. i. p. 377.) This writer, a Jesuit of Quito, seems to feel himself bound to make out as good a case for Atahualpa and his family as if he had been expressly retained in their behalf. His vouchers—when he condescends to give any—too rarely bear him out in his statements to inspire us with much confidence in his correctness.

²⁰ "Aula en este valle muy sumptuosos aposentos y ricos adonde los señores del Cuzco salían a tomar sus placeres y solases." *Cieza de Leon*, *Cronica*, cap. 91.

extent, occasioned by the frequent overflowing of the waters; but the industry of the Indian architects had constructed a solid causeway, faced with heavy stone, and connected with the great road, which traversed the whole breadth of the morass.²¹

In this valley Pizarro halted for several days, while he refreshed his troops from the well-stored magazines of the Incas. His first act was to bring Chalcuchima to trial,—if trial that could be called, where sentence may be said to have gone hand in hand with accusation. We are not informed of the nature of the evidence. It was sufficient to satisfy the Spanish captains of the chieftain's guilt. Nor is it at all incredible that Chalcuchima should have secretly encouraged a movement among the people, designed to secure his country's freedom and his own. He was condemned to be burnt alive on the spot. "Some thought it a hard measure," says Herrera; "but those who are governed by reasons of state policy are apt to shut their eyes against every thing else."²² Why this cruel mode of execution was so often adopted by the Spanish Conquerors is not obvious; unless it was that the Indian was an infidel, and fire, from ancient date, seems to have been considered the fitting doom of the infidel, as the type of that inextinguishable flame which awaited him in the regions of the damned.

Father Valverde accompanied the Peruvian chieftain to the stake. He seems always to have been present at this dreary moment, anxious to

²¹ Cieza de Leon, *Cronica*, cap. 91.

²² *Hist. general*, dec. 5, lib. 6, cap. 3.

profit by it, if possible, to work the conversion of the victim. He painted in gloomy colors the dreadful gloom of the unbeliever, to whom the waters of baptism could alone secure the ineffable glories of paradise.²³ It does not appear that he promised any commutation of punishment in this world. But his arguments fell on a stony heart, and the chief coldly replied, he "did not understand the religion of the white men."²⁴ He might be pardoned for not comprehending the beauty of a faith which, as it would seem, had borne so bitter fruits to him. In the midst of his tortures he showed the characteristic courage of the American Indian, whose power of endurance triumphs over the power of persecution in his enemies, and he died with his last breath invoking the name of Pachacamac. His own followers brought the fagots to feed the flames that consumed him.²⁵

Soon after this tragic event, Pizarro was surprised by a visit from a Peruvian noble, who came in great state, attended by a numerous and showy retinue. It was the young prince Manco, brother of the unfortunate Huascar, and the rightful successor to the crown. Being brought before the Spanish commander, he announced his pretensions to the throne, and claimed the protection of the strangers. It is said he had meditated resisting them by arms, and had encouraged the assaults made on them on their march, but, finding resist-

²³ *Ped. Sancho, Rel., ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 406.*

²⁴ *Ibid., loc. cit.*

²⁵ *Pedro Sancho, Rel., ap. Ramusio, loc. cit.*—*Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.*—The MS. of the old Conqueror is so much damaged in this part of it that much of his account is entirely effaced.

ance ineffectual, he had taken this politic course, greatly to the displeasure of his more resolute nobles. However this may be, Pizarro listened to his application with singular contentment, for he saw in this new scion of the true royal stock a more effectual instrument for his purposes than he could have found in the family of Quito, with whom the Peruvians had but little sympathy. He received the young man, therefore, with great cordiality, and did not hesitate to assure him that he had been sent into the country by his master, the Castilian sovereign, in order to vindicate the claims of Huascar to the crown and to punish the usurpation of his rival.²⁶

Taking with him the Indian prince, Pizarro now resumed his march. It was interrupted for a few hours by a party of the natives, who lay in wait for him in the neighboring sierra. A sharp skirmish ensued, in which the Indians behaved with great spirit and inflicted some little injury on the Spaniards; but the latter at length, shaking them off, made good their passage through the defile, and the enemy did not care to follow them into the open country.

It was late in the afternoon when the Conquerors came in sight of Cuzco.²⁷ The descending sun was streaming his broad rays full on the imperial city, where many an altar was dedicated to his worship. The low ranges of buildings, showing in his beams like so many lines of silvery light,

²⁶ *Ped. Sancho, Rel., ap. Ramusio, tom. III. fol. 406.*—Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq., MS.*

²⁷ *"Y dos horas antes que el Sol se pusiese, llegaron á vista de la ciudad del Cuzco."* *Relacion del primer Descub., MS.*

filled up the bosom of the valley and the lower slopes of the mountains, whose shadowy forms hung darkly over the fair city, as if to shield it from the menaced profanation. It was so late that Pizarro resolved to defer his entrance till the following morning.

That night vigilant guard was kept in the camp, and the soldiers slept on their arms. But it passed away without annoyance from the enemy, and early on the following day, November 15th, 1533, Pizarro prepared for his entrance into the Peruvian capital.²⁸

The little army was formed into three divisions, of which the centre, or "battle," as it was called, was led by the general. The suburbs were thronged with a countless multitude of the natives, who had flocked from the city and the surrounding country to witness the showy and, to them, startling pageant. All looked with eager curiosity on the strangers, the fame of whose terrible exploits had spread to the remotest parts of the empire. They gazed with astonishment on their dazzling arms and fair complexions, which seemed to proclaim them the true Children of the Sun; and they listened with feelings of mysterious dread as the trumpet sent forth its prolonged notes through the streets of the capital and the solid ground shook under the heavy tramp of the cavalry.

The Spanish commander rode directly up the

²⁸ The chronicles differ as to the precise date. There can be no better authorities than Pedro Sancho's narrative and the Letter of the Magistrates of Xauxa, which I have followed in the text.

great square. It was surrounded by low piles of buildings, among which were several palaces of the Incas. One of these, erected by Huayna Capac, was surmounted by a tower, while the ground-floor was occupied by one or more immense halls, like those described in Caxamalca, where the Peruvian nobles held their *fêtes* in stormy weather. These buildings afforded convenient barracks for the troops, though during the first few weeks they remained under their tents in the open *plaza*, with their horses picketed by their side, ready to repulse any insurrection of the inhabitants.²⁹

The capital of the Incas, though falling short of the *El Dorado* which had engaged their credulous fancies, astonished the Spaniards by the beauty of its edifices, the length and regularity of its streets, and the good order and appearance of comfort, even luxury, visible in its numerous population. It far surpassed all they had yet seen in the New World. The population of the city is computed by one of the Conquerors at two hundred thousand inhabitants, and that of the suburbs at as many more.³⁰ This account is not

²⁹ Ped. Sancho, Rel., ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 407.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 1, lib. 7, cap. 10.—Relacion del primer Descub., MS.

³⁰ “Esta ciudad era muy grande i muy populosa de grandes edificios i comarcas, quando los Españoles entraron la primera vez en ella havia gran cantidad de gente, seria pueblo de mas de 40 mill. vecinos solamente lo que tomaba la ciudad, que arravalles i comarca en derredor del Cuzco á 10 ó 12 leguas creo yo que havia docientos mill. Indios, porque esto era lo mas poblado de todos estos reinos.” (Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.) The *vecino* or “householder” is computed, usually, as representing five individuals.—Yet Father Valverde, in a

confirmed, as far as I have seen, by any other writer. But, however it may be exaggerated, it is certain that Cuzco was the metropolis of a great empire, the residence of the court and the chief nobility; frequented by the most skilful mechanics and artisans of every description, who found a demand for their ingenuity in the royal precincts; while the place was garrisoned by a numerous soldiery, and was the resort, finally, of emigrants from the most distant provinces. The quarters whence this motley population came were indicated by their peculiar dress, and especially their head-gear, so rarely found at all on the American Indian, which, with its variegated colors, gave a picturesque effect to the groups and masses in the streets. The habitual order and decorum maintained in this multifarious assembly showed the excellent police of the capital, where the only sounds that disturbed the repose of the Spaniards were the noises of feasting and dancing, which the natives, with happy insensibility, constantly prolonged to a late hour of the night.⁸¹

The edifices of the better sort—and they were very numerous—were of stone, or faced with

letter written a few years after this, speaks of the city as having only three or four thousand houses at the time of its occupation, and the suburbs as having nineteen or twenty thousand. (*Carta al Emperador, MS., 20 de Marzo, 1539.*) It is possible that he took into the account only the better kind of houses, not considering the mud huts, or rather hovels, which made so large a part of a Peruvian town, as deserving notice.

⁸¹ “*Heran tantos los atambores que de noche se oían por todas partes bailando y cantando y bebiendo que toda la mayor parte de la noche se les pasava en esto cotidianamente.*” Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq., MS.*

stone.³³ Among the principal were the royal residences; as each sovereign built a new palace for himself, covering, though low, a large extent of ground. The walls were sometimes stained or painted with gaudy tints, and the gates, we are assured, were sometimes of colored marble.³³ "In the delicacy of the stone-work," says another of the Conquerors, "the natives far excelled the Spaniards, though the roofs of their dwellings, instead of tiles, were only of thatch, but put together with the nicest art."³⁴ The sunny climate of Cuzco did not require a very substantial material for defence against the weather.

The most important building was the fortress, planted on a solid rock that rose boldly above the city. It was built of hewn stone, so finely wrought that it was impossible to detect the line of junction between the blocks; and the approaches to it were defended by three semicircular parapets, composed of such heavy masses of rock that it bore resemblance to the kind of work known to archi-

³³ "La maggior parte di queste case sono di pietra, et l'altre hāno la metà della facciata di pietra." *Ped. Sancho, Rel., ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 413.*

³⁴ "Che sono le principali della città dipinte et lauorate, et di pietra: et la miglior d'esse è la casa di Guainacaba Cacique vecchio, et la porta d'essa è di marmo bianco et rosso, et d'altri colori." (*Ibid., ubi supra.*) The buildings were usually of freestone. There may have been porphyry from the neighboring mountains mixed with this, which the Spaniards mistook for marble.

³⁵ "Todo labrado de piedra muy prima, que cierto toda la cantería desta cibdad hace gran ventaja á la de España, aunque carecen de teja que todas las casas sino es la fortaleza, que era hecha de asoteas, son cubiertas de paja, aunque tan primamente puesta, que parece bien." *Relacion del primer Descub., MS.*

fects as the Cyclopean.* The fortress was raised to a height rare in Peruvian architecture; and from the summit of the tower the eye of the spectator ranged over a magnificent prospect, in which the wild features of the mountain-scenery, rocks, woods, and waterfalls, were mingled with the rich verdure of the valley, and the shining city filling up the foreground,—all blended in sweet harmony under the deep azure of a tropical sky.

The streets were long and narrow. They were arranged with perfect regularity, crossing one another at right angles; and from the great square diverged four principal streets connecting with the high-roads of the empire. The square itself, and many parts of the city, were paved with a fine pebble.³⁵ Through the heart of the capital ran a river of pure water, if it might not be rather termed a canal, the banks or sides of which, for the distance of twenty leagues, were

* *Ped. Sancho, Rel., ap. Ramusio, tom. iii., ubi supra.*—A passage in the Letter of the Municipality of Xauxa is worth quoting, as confirming on the best authority some of the interesting particulars mentioned in the text: “Esta cibdad es la mejor e maior que en la tierra se ha visto, i aun en Yndias; e decimos a V. M. ques tan hermosa i de tan buenos edeficios que en España seria muy de ver; tiene las calles por mucho conuerto en pedradas i por medio dellas un caño enlosado, la plaza es hecha en cuadra i empedrada de quijas pequeñas todas, todas las mas de las casas son de Señores Principales hechas de cantería, esta en una ladera de un serro en el cual sobre el pueblo esta una fortaleza mui bien obrada de cantería, tan de ver que por Españoles que han andado Reinos estraños dicen no haver visto otro edeficio igual al della.” *Carta de la Just. y Reg. de Xauja, MS.*

* [Mr. Markham, who examined the ruins in 1833, has given a minute description of this “gigantic treble line of Cyclopean fortification,” which, he says, “must fill the mind of every traveller with astonishment and admiration.” *Translation of Cieza de Leon, p. 325, note.—K.]*

faced with stone.⁸⁶ Across this stream, bridges, constructed of similar broad flags, were thrown at intervals, so as to afford an easy communication between the different quarters of the capital.⁸⁷

The most sumptuous edifice in Cuzco in the times of the Incas was undoubtedly the great temple dedicated to the Sun, which, studded with gold plates, as already noticed, was surrounded by convents and dormitories for the priests, with their gardens and broad parterres sparkling with gold. The exterior ornaments had been removed by the Conquerors,—all but the frieze of gold, which, imbedded in the stones, still encircled the principal building. It is probable that the tales of wealth so greedily circulated among the Spaniards greatly exceeded the truth. If they did not, the natives must have been very successful in concealing their treasures from the invaders. Yet much remained, not only in the great House of the Sun, but in the inferior temples which swarmed in the capital.

Pizarro, on entering Cuzco, had issued an order forbidding any soldier to offer violence to the dwellings of the inhabitants.⁸⁸ But the palaces

⁸⁶ "Un río, el cual baja por medio de la cibdad y desde que nace, mas de veinte leguas por aquel valle abajo donde hay muchas poblaciones, va enlosado todo por el suelo, y las varrancas de una parte y de otra hechas de cantería labrada, cosa nunca vista, ni oída." *Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.

⁸⁷ The reader will find a few repetitions in this chapter of what I have already said, in the Introduction, of Cuzco under the Incas. But the facts here stated are for the most part drawn from other sources, and some repetition was unavoidable in order to give a distinct image of the capital.

⁸⁸ "Pues mando el marques dar vn pregon que ningun español fuese á entrar en las casas de los naturales ó tomalles nada." Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.

were numerous, and the troops lost no time in plundering them of their contents, as well as in despoiling the religious edifices. The interior decorations supplied them with considerable booty. They stripped off the jewels and rich ornaments that garnished the royal mummies in the temple of Coricancha. Indignant at the concealment of their treasures, they put the inhabitants, in some instances, to the torture, and endeavored to extort from them a confession of their hiding-places.³⁹ They invaded the repose of the sepulchres, in which the Peruvians often deposited their valuable effects, and compelled the grave to give up its dead. No place was left unexplored by the rapacious Conquerors; and they occasionally stumbled on a mine of wealth that rewarded their labors.

In a cavern near the city they found a number of vases of pure gold, richly embossed with the figures of serpents, locusts, and other animals. Among the spoil were four golden llamas and ten or twelve statues of women, some of gold, others of silver, "which merely to see," says one of the Conquerors, with some *naïveté*, "was truly a great satisfaction." The gold was probably thin, for the figures were all as large as life; and several of them, being reserved for the royal fifth, were not recast, but sent in their original form to Spain.⁴⁰ The magazines were stored with curious

³⁹ Gomara, *Hist. de las Ind.*, cap. 123.

⁴⁰ "Et fra l'altre cose singolari, era veder quattro castrati di fin oro molto grandi, et 10 ò 12 statue di dōne, della grandezza delle dōne di quel paese tutte d'oro fino, così belle et ben fatte come se fossero viue. . . . Queste furono date nel quinto che toccaua a S. M." (Ped. San-

commodities; richly-tinted robes of cotton and feather-work, gold sandals, and slippers of the same material, for the women, and dresses composed entirely of beads of gold.⁴¹ The grain and other articles of food, with which the magazines were filled, were held in contempt by the Conquerors, intent only on gratifying their lust for gold.⁴² The time came when the grain would have been of far more value.

Yet the amount of treasure in the capital did not equal the sanguine expectations that had been formed by the Spaniards. But the deficiency was supplied by the plunder which they had collected at various places on their march. In one place, for example, they met with ten planks or bars of solid silver, each piece being twenty feet in length, one foot in breadth, and two or three inches thick. They were intended to decorate the dwelling of an Inca noble.⁴³

The whole mass of treasure was brought into a common heap, as in Caxamalca; and, after some

cho, Rel., ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 409.) "Muchas estatuas y figuras de oro y plata enteras, hecha la forma toda de una muger, y del tamaño della, muy bien labradas." *Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.

"Avia así mismo otras muchas plumas de diferentes colores para este efecto de hacer ropas que vestian los señores y señoras y no otro en los tiempos de sus fiestas, avia tambien mantas hechas de chaquira, de oro, y de plata, que heran vnas quentecitas muy delicadas, que parecia cosa de espanto ver su hechura." Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.

*Ondegardo, *Rel. Prim.*, MS.

"Pues andando yo buscando mahis ó otras cosas para comer, acaso entre en vn buhio donde halle estos tablones de plata que tengo dicho que heran hasta dies y de largo tenian veinte pies y de anchor de vno y de gordor de tres dedos, di noticia dello al marques y el y todos los demas que con el estavan entraron á yello." Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.

of the finer specimens had been deducted for the crown, the remainder was delivered to the Indian goldsmiths to be melted down into ingots of a uniform standard. The division of the spoil was made on the same principle as before. There were four hundred and eighty soldiers, including the garrison of Xauxa, who were each to receive a share, that of the cavalry being double that of the infantry. The amount of booty is stated variously by those present at the division of it. According to some, it considerably exceeded the ransom of Atahuallpa. Others state it as less. Pedro Pizarro says that each horseman got six thousand *pesos de oro*, and each one of the infantry half that sum;⁴⁴ though the same discrimination was made by Pizarro as before, in respect to the rank of the parties, and their relative services. But Sancho, the royal notary, and secretary of the commander, estimates the whole amount as far less,—not exceeding five hundred and eighty thousand and two hundred *pesos de oro*, and two hundred and fifteen thousand marks of silver.⁴⁵ In the absence of the official returns, it is impossible to determine which is correct. But Sancho's narrative is countersigned, it may be remembered, by Pizarro and the royal treasurer Riquelme, and doubtless, therefore, shows the actual amount for which the Conquerors accounted to the crown.

Whichever statement we receive, the sum, combined with that obtained at Caxamalca, might well have satisfied the cravings of the most avaricious.

⁴⁴ Descub. y Conq., MS.

⁴⁵ Ped. Sancho, Rel., ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 409.

The sudden influx of so much wealth, and that, too, in so transferable a form, among a party of reckless adventurers little accustomed to the possession of money, had its natural effect. It supplied them with the means of gaming, so strong and common a passion with the Spaniards that it may be considered a national vice. Fortunes were lost and won in a single day, sufficient to render the proprietors independent for life; and many a desperate gamester, by an unlucky throw of the dice or turn of the cards, saw himself stripped in a few hours of the fruits of years of toil and obliged to begin over again the business of rapine. Among these, one in the cavalry service is mentioned, named Leguizano,* who had received as his share of the booty the image of the Sun, which, raised on a plate of burnished gold, spread over the walls in a recess of the great temple, and which, for some reason or other,—perhaps because of its superior fineness,—was not recast like the other ornaments. This rich prize the spendthrift lost in a single night; whence it came to be a proverb in Spain, *Juega el Sol antes que amanezca*, “He plays away the Sun before sunrise.”⁴⁶

The effect of such a surfeit of the precious metals was instantly felt on prices. The most

* Garcilasso, *Com. Real.*, Parte 1, lib. 3, cap. 20.

* [Or Lejesema,—the same person whose will is referred to in Book I. chap. 5, note 37, and printed in Appendix No. 4. According to Garcilasso, he had been “a great gambler,” but his loss on the present occasion proved his salvation, as he “hated play ever afterwards,” and devoted himself with zeal and diligence to the public service. He held several offices, married an Inca princess, took part in the civil wars,—generally on the winning side,—and survived all his old companions in arms.—K.]

ordinary articles were only to be had for exorbitant sums. A quire of paper was sold for ten *pesos de oro*; a bottle of wine, for sixty; a sword, for forty or fifty; a cloak, for a hundred,—sometimes more; a pair of shoes cost thirty or forty *pesos de oro*, and a good horse could not be had for less than twenty-five hundred.⁴⁷ Some brought a still higher price. Every article rose in value, as gold and silver, the representatives of all, declined. Gold and silver, in short, seemed to be the only things in Cuzco that were not wealth. Yet there were some few wise enough to return contented with their present gains to their native country. Here their riches brought them consideration and competence, and, while they excited the envy of their countrymen, stimulated them to seek their own fortunes in the like path of adventure.

⁴⁷ Xerez, Conq. del Peru, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 233.

CHAPTER IX

NEW INCA CROWNED — MUNICIPAL REGULATIONS
— TERRIBLE MARCH OF ALVARADO — INTERVIEW
WITH PIZARRO — FOUNDATION OF LIMA — HER-
NANDO PIZARRO REACHES SPAIN — SENSATION AT
COURT — FEUDS OF ALMAGRO AND THE PIZARROS

1584-1585

THE first care of the Spanish general, after the division of the booty, was to place Manco on the throne and to obtain for him the recognition of his countrymen. He, accordingly, presented the young prince to them as their future sovereign, the legitimate son of Huayna Capac, and the true heir of the Peruvian sceptre. The annunciation was received with enthusiasm by the people, attached to the memory of his illustrious father, and pleased that they were still to have a monarch rule over them of the ancient line of Cuzco.

Every thing was done to maintain the illusion with the Indian population. The ceremonies of a coronation were studiously observed. The young prince kept the prescribed fasts and vigils; and on the appointed day the nobles and the people, with the whole Spanish soldiery, assembled in the great square of Cuzco to witness the concluding ceremony. Mass was publicly performed by Father Valverde, and the Inca Manco received



THE INCA MANCO CAPAC

CHAPTER IX

NEW INCA CROWNED—MUNICIPAL REGULATION—
L. MARQUEZ C. ALVARADO—INTERVIEW
—FACED—CORONATION OF LIMA—FEAR
—IN HIS SPAIN—SENSATION AT
—LAGRO AND THE PIZARROS

1534-1535

THE first care of the Spanish general, after the division of the booty, was to place Manco on his throne and to obtain for him the recognition of his countrymen. He, accordingly, presented the young prince to them as their future legitimate son of Huayna Capac, and the possessor of the Peruvian sceptre. The people were so moved with enthusiasm by the prospect of the restoration of the memory of his illustrious father, that they were still to have a king of the ancient line of

very few days to maintain the illusion. On the first day of the coronation. The ceremonies of a coronation were solemnly observed. The young prince kept his prescribed fasts and vigils; and on the second day the nobles and the people, together with the Spanish soldiery, assembled in the city of Cuzco to witness the concluding ceremony. This was publicly performed by the Inca Manco receive



Figura de Atlatl Copac

the fringed diadem of Peru, not from the hand of the high-priest of his nation, but from his conqueror, Pizarro. The Indian lords then tendered their obeisance in the customary form; after which the royal notary read aloud the instrument asserting the supremacy of the Castilian crown, and requiring the homage of all present to its authority. This address was explained by an interpreter, and the ceremony of homage was performed by each one of the parties waving the royal banner of Castile twice or thrice with his hands. Manco then pledged the Spanish commander in a golden goblet of the sparkling *chicha*; and, the latter having cordially embraced the new monarch, the trumpets announced the conclusion of the ceremony.¹ But it was not the note of triumph, but of humiliation; for it proclaimed that the armed foot of the stranger was in the halls of the Peruvian Incas; that the ceremony of coronation was a miserable pageant; that their prince himself was but a puppet in the hands of his conqueror; and that the glory of the Children of the Sun had departed forever!

Yet the people readily yielded to the illusion, and seemed willing to accept this image of their ancient independence. The accession of the young monarch was greeted by all the usual *fêtes* and rejoicings. The mummies of his royal ancestors, with such ornaments as were still left to them, were paraded in the great square. They were attended each by his own numerous retinue, who performed

¹ Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—Ped. Sancho, *Rel.*, ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 407.

all the menial offices, as if the object of them were alive and could feel their import. Each ghostly form took its seat at the banquet-table,—now, alas! stripped of the magnificent service with which it was wont to blaze at these high festivals,—and the guests drank deep to the illustrious dead. Dancing succeeded the carousal, and the festivities, prolonged to a late hour, were continued night after night by the giddy population, as if their conquerors had not been intrenched in the capital!²—What a contrast to the Aztecs in the conquest of Mexico!

Pizarro's next concern was to organize a municipal government for Cuzco, like those in the cities of the parent country. Two *alcaldes* were appointed, and eight *regidores*, among which last functionaries were his brothers Gonzalo and Juan. The oaths of office were administered with great solemnity, on the twenty-fourth of March, 1534, in presence both of Spaniards and Peruvians, in the public square; as if the general were willing by this ceremony to intimate to the latter that, while they retained the semblance of their ancient institutions, the real power was henceforth vested in their conquerors.³ He invited Spaniards to

² Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—“Luego por la mañana iba al enterramiento donde estaban cada uno por orden embalsamados como es dicho, y asentados en sus sillas, y con mucha veneracion y respeto, todos por orden los sacaban de allí y los trahian á la ciudad, teniendo cada uno su litera, y hombres con su librea, que le trujesen, y así desta manera todo el servicio y aderezos como si estubiera vivo.” *Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.

³ Ped. Sancho, Rel., ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 409.—Montesinos, *Annales*, MS., año 1534.—Actto de la fundacion del Cuzco, MS.—This instrument, which belongs to the collection of Muñoz, records

settle in the place by liberal grants of lands and houses, for which means were afforded by the numerous palaces and public buildings of the Incas; and many a cavalier who had been too poor in his own country to find a place to rest in now saw himself the proprietor of a spacious mansion that might have entertained the retinue of a prince.⁴ From this time, says an old chronicler, Pizarro, who had hitherto been distinguished by his military title of "Captain-General," was addressed by that of "Governor."⁵ Both had been bestowed on him by the royal grant.

Nor did the chief neglect the interests of religion. Father Valverde, whose nomination as Bishop of Cuzco not long afterwards received the papal sanction, prepared to enter on the duties of his office. A place was selected for the cathedral of his diocese, facing the *plaza*.^{*} A spacious monastery subsequently rose on the ruins of the gorgeous House of the Sun; its walls were constructed of the ancient stones; the altar was raised on the spot where shone the bright image of the Peruvian deity, and the cloisters of the Indian temple were trodden by the friars of St.

not only the names of the magistrates, but of the *vecinos* who formed the first population of the *Christian* capital.

⁴ Actto de la fundacion del Cusco, MS.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 1, lib. 7, cap. 9, et seq.—When a building was of immense size, as happened with some of the temples and palaces, it was assigned to two or even three of the Conquerors, who each took his share of it. Garcilasso, who describes the city as it was soon after the Conquest, commemorates with sufficient prolixity the names of the cavaliers among whom the buildings were distributed.

⁵ Montesinos, Annales, año 1534.

^{*} [The palace of the Inca Viracocha.—M.]

Dominic.⁶ To make the metamorphosis more complete, the House of the Virgins of the Sun was replaced by a Roman Catholic nunnery.⁷ Christian churches and monasteries gradually supplanted the ancient edifices, and such of the latter as were suffered to remain, despoiled of their heathen insignia, were placed under the protection of the Cross.

The Fathers of St. Dominic, the Brethren of the Order of Mercy, and other missionaries, now busied themselves in the good work of conversion. We have seen that Pizarro was required by the crown to bring out a certain number of these holy men in his own vessels; and every succeeding vessel brought an additional reinforcement of ecclesiastics. They were not all like the Bishop of Cuzco, with hearts so seared by fanaticism as to be closed against sympathy with the unfortunate natives.⁸ They were, many of them, men

⁶ Garcilasso, *Com. Real.*, Parte 1, lib. 3, cap. 90; lib. 6, cap. 91.—Naharro, *Relacion sumaria*, MS.

⁷ Ulloa, *Voyage to South America*, book 7, ch. 12.—“The Indian nuns,” says the author of the *Relacion del primer Descub.*, “lived chastely and in a holy manner.”—“Their chastity was all a feint,” says Pedro Pizarro, “for they had constant amours with the attendants of the temple.” (*Descub. y Conq.*, MS.)—What is truth?—In statements so contradictory, we may accept the most favorable to the Peruvians. The prejudices of the Conquerors certainly did not lie on that side.

⁸ Such, however, it is but fair to Valverde to state, is not the language applied to him by the rude soldiers of the Conquest. The municipality of Xauxa, in a communication to the Court, extol the Dominican as an exemplary and learned divine, who had afforded much serviceable consolation to his countrymen: “Es persona de mucho exemplo i doctrina i con quien todos los Españoles an tenido mucho consuelo.” (*Carta de la Just. y Reg. de Xauxa*, MS.) And yet this is not incompatible with a high degree of insensibility to the natural rights of the natives.

of singular humility, who followed in the track of the conqueror to scatter the seeds of spiritual truth, and, with disinterested zeal, devoted themselves to the propagation of the gospel. Thus did their pious labors prove them the true soldiers of the cross, and show that the object so ostentatiously avowed of carrying its banner among the heathen nations was not an empty vaunt.

The effort to Christianize the heathen is an honorable characteristic of the Spanish conquests. The Puritan, with equal religious zeal, did comparatively little for the conversion of the Indian, content, as it would seem, with having secured to himself the inestimable privilege of worshipping God in his own way. Other adventurers who have occupied the New World have often had too little regard for religion themselves, to be very solicitous about spreading it among the savages. But the Spanish missionary, from first to last, has shown a keen interest in the spiritual welfare of the natives. Under his auspices, churches on a magnificent scale have been erected, schools for elementary instruction founded, and every rational means taken to spread the knowledge of religious truth, while he has carried his solitary mission into remote and almost inaccessible regions, or gathered his Indian disciples into communities, like the good Las Casas in Cumaná, or the Jesuits in California and Paraguay. At all events, the courageous ecclesiastic has been ready to lift his voice against the cruelty of the conqueror and the no less wasting cupidity of the colonist; and when his remonstrances, as was too

often the case, have proved unavailing, he has still followed to bind up the broken-hearted, to teach the poor Indian resignation under his lot, and light up his dark intellect with the revelation of a holier and happier existence. In reviewing the blood-stained records of Spanish colonial history, it is but fair, and at the same time cheering, to reflect that the same nation which sent forth the hard-hearted conqueror from its bosom sent forth the missionary to do the work of beneficence and spread the light of Christian civilization over the farthest regions of the New World.

While the governor, as we are henceforth to style him, lay at Cuzco, he received repeated accounts of a considerable force in the neighborhood, under the command of Atahualpa's officer, Quizquiz. He accordingly detached Almagro, with a small body of horse and a large native force under the Inca Manco, to disperse the enemy, and, if possible, to capture the leader. Manco was the more ready to take part in the expedition, as the hostile Indians were soldiers of Quito, who, with their commander, bore no good will to himself.

Almagro, moving with characteristic rapidity, was not long in coming up with the Indian chieftain. Several sharp encounters followed, as the army of Quito fell back on Xauxa, near which a general engagement decided the fate of the war by the total discomfiture of the natives. Quizquiz fled to the elevated plains of Quito, where he still held out with undaunted spirit against a Spanish force in that quarter, till at length his own soldiers,

wearied by these long and ineffectual hostilities, massacred their commander in cold blood.⁹ Thus fell the last of the two great officers of Atahualpa, who, if their nation had been animated by a spirit equal to their own, might long have successfully maintained their soil against the invader.

Some time before this occurrence, the Spanish governor, while in Cuzco, received tidings of an event much more alarming to him than any Indian hostilities. This was the arrival on the coast of a strong Spanish force, under the command of Don Pedro de Alvarado, the gallant officer who had served under Cortés with such renown in the war of Mexico. That cavalier, after forming a brilliant alliance in Spain, to which he was entitled by his birth and military rank, had returned to his government of Guatemala, where his avarice had been roused by the magnificent reports he daily received of Pizarro's conquests. These conquests, he learned, had been confined to Peru; while the northern kingdom of Quito, the ancient residence of Atahualpa, and, no doubt, the principal depository of his treasures, yet remained untouched. Affecting to consider this country as falling without the governor's jurisdiction, he immediately turned a large fleet, which he had intended for the Spice Islands, in the direction of South America; and in March, 1534, he landed in the Bay of

⁹ Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—Naharro, *Relacion sumaria*, MS.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 20.—Ped. Sancho, *Rel.*, ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 408.—*Relacion del primer Descub.*, MS.

Caraques, with five hundred followers,* of whom half were mounted, and all admirably provided with arms and ammunition. It was the best equipped and most formidable array that had yet appeared in the Southern seas.¹⁰

Although manifestly an invasion of the territory conceded to Pizarro by the crown, the reckless cavalier determined to march at once on Quito. With the assistance of an Indian guide, he proposed to take the direct route across the mountains, a passage of exceeding difficulty, even at the most favorable season.

After crossing the Rio Dable, Alvarado's guide deserted him, so that he was soon entangled in the intricate mazes of the sierra; and, as he rose higher and higher into the regions of winter, he became surrounded with ice and snow, for which his men, taken from the warm countries of Guatemala, were but ill prepared. As the cold grew more intense, many of them were so benumbed that it was with difficulty they could proceed. The infantry, compelled to make exertions, fared best. Many of the troopers were frozen stiff to their saddles. The Indians, still more sensible to the cold, perished by hundreds. As the Spaniards huddled round their wretched bivouacs, with such scanty fuel as they could glean, and almost without food, they waited in gloomy silence the ap-

¹⁰ The number is variously reported by historians. But, from a legal investigation made in Guatemala, it appears that the whole force amounted to 500, of which 230 were cavalry.—*Informacion echa en Santiago, Set. 15, 1536, MS.*

* [Among them was the father of Garcilasso de la Vega.—M.]

proach of morning. Yet the morning light, which gleamed coldly on the cheerless waste, brought no joy to them. It only revealed more clearly the extent of their wretchedness. Still struggling on through the winding Puertos Nevados, or Snowy Passes, their track was dismally marked by fragments of dress, broken harness, golden ornaments, and other valuables plundered on their march,—by the dead bodies of men, or by those, less fortunate, who were left to die alone in the wilderness. As for the horses, their carcasses were not suffered long to cumber the ground, as they were quickly seized and devoured half raw by the starving soldiers, who, like the famished condors, now hovering in troops above their heads, greedily banqueted on the most offensive offal to satisfy the gnawings of hunger.

Alvarado, anxious to secure the booty which had fallen into his hands at an earlier part of his march, encouraged every man to take what gold he wanted from the common heap, reserving only the royal fifth. But they only answered, with a ghastly smile of derision, “that food was the only gold for them.” Yet in this extremity, which might seem to have dissolved the very ties of nature, there are some affecting instances recorded of self-devotion,—of comrades who lost their lives in assisting others, and of parents and husbands (for some of the cavaliers were accompanied by their wives) who, instead of seeking their own safety, chose to remain and perish in the snows with the objects of their love.

To add to their distress, the air was filled for

several days with thick clouds of earthy particles and cinders, which blinded the men and made respiration exceedingly difficult.¹¹ This phenomenon, it seems probable, was caused by an eruption of the distant Cotopaxi, which, about twelve leagues southeast of Quito, rears its colossal and perfectly symmetrical cone far above the limits of eternal snow,—the most beautiful and the most terrible of the American volcanoes.¹² At the time of Alvarado's expedition it was in a state of eruption, the earliest instance of the kind on record, though doubtless not the earliest.¹³ Since that period it has been in frequent commotion, sending up its sheets of flame to the height of half a mile, spouting forth cataracts of lava that have overwhelmed towns and villages in their career, and shaking the earth with subterraneous thunders, that, at the distance of more than a hundred leagues, sounded like the reports of artillery!¹⁴ Alvarado's followers, unacquainted with the cause

¹¹ "It began to rain earthy particles from the heavens," says Oviedo, "that blinded the men and horses, so that the trees and bushes were full of dirt." *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 20.

¹² Garcilasso says the shower of ashes came from the "volcano of Quito." (*Com. Real.*, Parte 2, lib. 2, cap. 2.) Cieza de Leon only says from one of the volcanoes in that region. (*Cronica*, cap. 41.) Neither of them specifies the name. Humboldt accepts the common opinion, that Cotopaxi was intended. *Researches*, i. 123.

¹³ A popular tradition among the natives states that a large fragment of porphyry near the base of the cone was thrown out in an eruption which occurred at the moment of Atahualpa's death. But such tradition will hardly pass for history.

¹⁴ A minute account of this formidable mountain is given by M. de Humboldt (*Researches*, i. 118, et seq.), and more circumstantially by Condamine. (*Voyage à l'Équateur*, pp. 48-56, 156-160.) The latter philosopher would have attempted to scale the almost perpendicular walls of the volcano, but no one was hardy enough to second him.

of the phenomenon, as they wandered over tracts buried in snow,—the sight of which was strange to them,—in an atmosphere laden with ashes, became bewildered by this confusion of the elements, which Nature seemed to have contrived purposely for their destruction. Some of these men were soldiers of Cortés, steeled by many a painful march and many a sharp encounter with the Aztecs. But this war of the elements, they now confessed, was mightier than all.

At length, Alvarado, after sufferings which even the most hardy, probably, could have endured but a few days longer, emerged from the Snowy Pass, and came on the elevated table-land, which spreads out, at the height of more than nine thousand feet above the ocean, in the neighborhood of Riobamba. But one-fourth of his gallant army had been left to feed the condor in the wilderness, besides the greater part, at least two thousand, of his Indian auxiliaries. A great number of his horses, too, had perished; and the men and horses that escaped were all of them more or less injured by the cold and the extremity of suffering. Such was the terrible passage of the Puertos Nevados, which I have only briefly noticed as an episode to the Peruvian conquest, but the account of which, in all its details, though it occupied but a few weeks in duration, would give one a better idea of the difficulties encountered by the Spanish cavaliers than volumes of ordinary narrative.¹⁵

¹⁵ By far the most spirited and thorough record of Alvarado's march is given by Herrera, who has borrowed the pen of Livy describing

As Alvarado, after halting some time to restore his exhausted troops, began his march across the broad plateau, he was astonished by seeing the prints of horses' hoofs on the soil. Spaniards, then, had been there before him, and, after all his toil and suffering, others had forestalled him in the enterprise against Quito! It is necessary to say a few words in explanation of this.

When Pizarro quitted Caxamalca, being sensible of the growing importance of San Miguel, the only port of entry then in the country, he despatched a person in whom he had great confidence to take charge of it. This person was Sebastian Benalcazar, a cavalier who afterwards placed his name in the first rank of the South American conquerors, for courage, capacity,—and cruelty. But this cavalier had hardly reached his government when, like Alvarado, he received such accounts of the riches of Quito that he determined, with the force at his command, though without orders, to undertake its reduction.

At the head of about a hundred and forty soldiers, horse and foot, and a stout body of Indian auxiliaries, he marched up the broad ranges of the Andes, to where it spread out

the Alpine march of Hannibal. (Hist. general, dec. 5, lib. 6, cap. 1, 2, 7, 8, 9.) See also Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.,—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 20,—and Carta de Pedro de Alvarado al Emperador, San Miguel, 15 de Enero, 1535, MS.—Alvarado, in the letter above cited, which is preserved in the Muñoz collection, explains to the emperor the grounds of his expedition, with no little effrontery. In this document he touches very briefly on the march, being chiefly occupied by the negotiations with Almagro, and accompanying his remarks with many dark suggestions as to the policy pursued by the Conquerors.

into the table-land of Quito, by a road safer and more expeditious than that taken by Alvarado. On the plains of Riobamba he encountered the Indian general Ruminavi. Several engagements followed, with doubtful success, when, in the end, science prevailed where courage was well matched, and the victorious Benalcazar planted the standard of Castile on the ancient towers of Atahuallpa. The city, in honor of his general, Francis Pizarro, he named San Francisco del Quito. But great was his mortification on finding that either the stories of its riches had been fabricated, or that these riches were secreted by the natives. The city was all that he gained by his victories,—the shell without the pearl of price which gave it its value. While devouring his chagrin, as he best could, the Spanish captain received tidings of the approach of his superior, Almagro.¹⁶

No sooner had the news of Alvarado's expedition reached Cuzco than Almagro left the place with a small force for San Miguel, proposing to strengthen himself by a reinforcement from that quarter, and to march at once against the invaders. Greatly was he astonished, on his arrival in that city, to learn the departure of its commander. Doubting the loyalty of his motives, Almagro, with the buoyancy of spirit which belongs to youth, though in truth somewhat enfeebled by the infirmities of age, did not hesitate to follow Benalcazar at once across the mountains.

¹⁶ Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 5, lib. 4, cap. 11, 18; lib. 6, cap. 5, 6.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 19.—Carta de Benalcazar, MS.

With his wonted energy, the intrepid veteran, overcoming all the difficulties of his march, in a few weeks placed himself and his little company on the lofty plains which spread around the Indian city of Riobamba; though in his progress he had more than one hot encounter with the natives, whose courage and perseverance formed a contrast sufficiently striking to the apathy of the Peruvians. But the fire only slumbered in the bosom of the Peruvian. His hour had not yet come.

At Riobamba, Almagro was soon joined by the commander of San Miguel, who disclaimed, perhaps sincerely, any disloyal intent in his unauthorized expedition. Thus reinforced, the Spanish captain coolly awaited the coming of Alvarado. The forces of the latter, though in a less serviceable condition, were much superior in number and appointments to those of his rival. As they confronted each other on the broad plains of Riobamba, it seemed probable that a fierce struggle must immediately follow, and the natives of the country have the satisfaction to see their wrongs avenged by the very hands that inflicted them. But it was Almagro's policy to avoid such an issue.

Negotiations were set on foot, in which each party stated his claims to the country. Meanwhile Alvarado's men mingled freely with their countrymen in the opposite army, and heard there such magnificent reports of the wealth and wonders of Cuzco that many of them were inclined to change their present service for that of Pizarro. Their own leader, too, satisfied that Quito

held out no recompense worth the sacrifices he had made, and was like to make by insisting on his claim, became now more sensible of the rashness of a course which must doubtless incur the censure of his sovereign. In this temper, it was not difficult for them to effect an adjustment of difficulties; and it was agreed, as the basis of it, that the governor should pay one hundred thousand *pesos de oro* to Alvarado, in consideration of which the latter was to resign to him his fleet, his forces, and all his stores and munitions. His vessels, great and small, amounted to twelve in number, and the sum he received, though large, did not cover his expenses. This treaty being settled, Alvarado proposed, before leaving the country, to have an interview with Pizarro.¹⁷

The governor, meanwhile, had quitted the Peruvian capital for the sea-coast, from his desire to repel any invasion that might be attempted in that direction by Alvarado, with whose real movements he was still unacquainted. He left Cuzco in charge of his brother Juan, a cavalier whose

¹⁷ Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.—Naharro, *Relacion sumaria*, MS.—Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 5, lib. 6, cap. 8–10.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 90.—Carta de Benalcazar, MS.—The amount of the *bonus* paid to Alvarado is stated very differently by writers. But both that cavalier and Almagro, in their letters to the emperor, which have hitherto been unknown to historians, agree in the sum given in the text. Alvarado complains that he had no choice but to take it, although it was greatly to his own loss, and, by defeating his expedition, as he modestly intimates, to the loss of the crown. (Carta de Alvarado al Emperador, MS.) Almagro, however, states that the sum paid was three times as much as the armament was worth; “a sacrifice,” he adds, “which he made to preserve peace, never dear at any price.”—Strange sentiment for a Castilian conqueror! Carta de Diego de Almagro al Emperador, MS., Oct. 15, 1534.

manners were such as, he thought, would be likely to gain the good will of the native population. Pizarro also left ninety of his troops, as the garrison of the capital and the nucleus of his future colony. Then, taking the Inca Manco with him, he proceeded as far as Xauxa. At this place he was entertained by the Indian prince with the exhibition of a great national hunt,—such as has been already described in these pages,—in which immense numbers of wild animals were slaughtered, and the vicuñas, and other races of Peruvian sheep, which roam over the mountains, driven into enclosures and relieved of their delicate fleeces.¹⁸

The Spanish governor then proceeded to Pachacamac, where he received the grateful intelligence of the accommodation with Alvarado; and not

¹⁸ Carta de la Just. y Reg. de Xauja, MS.—Relacion del primer Descub., MS.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 5, lib. 6, cap. 16.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1634.—At this place the author of the *Relacion del primer Descubrimiento del Perú*, the MS. so often quoted in these pages, abruptly terminates his labors. He is a writer of sense and observation; and, though he has his share of the national tendency to exaggerate and overcolor, he writes like one who means to be honest and who has seen what he describes. At Xauxa, also, the notary Pedro Sancho ends his *Relacion*, which embraces a much shorter period than the preceding narrative, but which is equally authentic. Coming from the secretary of Pizarro, and countersigned by that general himself, this Relation, indeed, may be regarded as of the very highest authority. And yet large deductions must obviously be made for the source whence it springs; for it may be taken as Pizarro's own account of his doings, some of which stood much in need of apology. It must be added, in justice both to the general and to his secretary, that the Relation does not differ substantially from other contemporary accounts, and that the attempt to varnish over the exceptionable passages in the conduct of the Conquerors is not obtrusive. For the publication of this journal we are indebted to Ramusio, whose enlightened labors have preserved to us more than one contemporary production of value, though in the form of translation.

long, afterwards he was visited by that cavalier himself, previously to his embarkation.

The meeting was conducted with courtesy and a show, at least, of good will on both sides, as there was no longer real cause for jealousy between the parties; and each, as may be imagined, looked on the other with no little interest, as having achieved such distinction in the bold path of adventure. In the comparison, Alvarado had somewhat the advantage; for Pizarro, though of commanding presence, had not the brilliant exterior, the free and joyous manner, which, no less than his fresh complexion and sunny locks, had won for the conqueror of Guatemala, in his campaigns against the Aztecs, the *sobriquet* of *Tonatiuh*, or "Child of the Sun."

Blithe were the revels that now rang through the ancient city of Pachacamac; where, instead of songs, and of the sacrifices so often seen there in honor of the Indian deity, the walls echoed to the noise of tourneys and Moorish tilts of reeds, with which the martial adventurers loved to recall the sports of their native land. When these were concluded, Alvarado re-embarked for his government of Guatemala, where his restless spirit soon involved him in other enterprises that cut short his adventurous career. His expedition to Peru was eminently characteristic of the man. It was founded in injustice, conducted with rashness, and ended in disaster.¹⁹

¹⁹ Naharro, *Relacion sumaria*, MS.—Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—Carta de Francisco Pizarro al Señor de Molina, MS.—Alvarado died in 1541, of an injury received from a horse which
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The reduction of Peru might now be considered as, in a manner, accomplished. Some barbarous tribes in the interior, it is true, still held out, and Alonso de Alvarado, a prudent and able officer, was employed to bring them into subjection. Benalcazar was still at Quito, of which he was subsequently appointed governor by the crown. There he was laying deeper the foundation of Spanish power, while he advanced the line of conquest still higher towards the north. But Cuzco, the ancient capital of the Indian monarchy, had submitted. The armies of Atahualpa had been beaten and scattered. The empire of the Incas was dissolved; and the prince who now wore the Peruvian diadem was but the shadow of a king, who held his commission from his conqueror.

The first act of the governor was to determine on the site of the future capital of this vast colonial empire. Cuzco, withdrawn among the mountains, was altogether too far removed from the sea-coast for a commercial people. The little settlement of San Miguel lay too far to the north. It was desirable to select some more central position, which could be easily found in one of the fruitful valleys that bordered the Pacific. Such was that of Pachacamac, which Pizarro now occupied. But, on further examination, he preferred the neighboring valley of Rimac, which lay to the north, and which took its name, signifying in the Quichua tongue "one who speaks,"

rolled down on him as he was attempting to scale a precipitous hill in New Galacia. In the same year, by a singular coincidence, perished his beautiful wife, at her own residence in Guatemala, which was overwhelmed by a torrent from the adjacent mountains.

from a celebrated idol, whose shrine was much frequented by the Indians for the oracles it delivered. Through the valley flowed a broad stream, which, like a great artery, was made, as usual by the natives, to supply a thousand finer veins that meandered through the beautiful meadows.

On this river Pizarro fixed the site of his new capital, at somewhat less than two leagues' distance from its mouth, which expanded into a commodious haven for the commerce that the prophetic eye of the founder saw would one day—and no very distant one—float on its waters. The central situation of the spot recommended it as a suitable residence for the Peruvian viceroy, whence he might hold easy communication with the different parts of the country and keep vigilant watch over his Indian vassals. The climate was delightful, and, though only twelve degrees south of the line, was so far tempered by the cool breezes that generally blow from the Pacific, or from the opposite quarter down the frozen sides of the Cordilleras, that the heat was less than in corresponding latitudes on the continent. It never rained on the coast; but this dryness was corrected by a vaporous cloud, which, through the summer months, hung like a curtain over the valley, sheltering it from the rays of a tropical sun, and imperceptibly distilling a refreshing moisture, that clothed the fields in the brightest verdure.

The name bestowed on the infant capital was *Ciudad de los Reyes*, or City of the Kings, in honor of the day, being the 6th of January, 1535,

—the festival of Epiphany,—when it was said to have been founded, or more probably when its site was determined; as its actual foundation seems to have been twelve days later.²⁰ But the Castilian name ceased to be used even within the first generation, and was supplanted by that of Lima, into which the original Indian name of Rimac was corrupted by the Spaniards.²¹ *

* So says Quintana, who follows in this what he pronounces a sure authority, Father Bernabe Cobo, in his book entitled *Fundacion de Lima*. Españoles célebres, tom. ii. p. 260, nota.

* The MSS. of the old Conquerors show how, from the very first, the name of Lima superseded the original Indian title: "Y el marques se passo á Lima y fundo la ciudad de los rreyes que agora es." (Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.) "Asimismo ordenaron que se pasasen el pueblo que tenian en Xauxa poblado á este Valle de Lima donde agora es esta ciudad de los Reyes, i aqui se poblo." Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.

* [The climate of Lima cannot be called delightful. It certainly is not tropical, notwithstanding the latitude 12° 8' 34" S. During the winter season—i.e., from June to November, inclusive—the mercury ranges from 57° to 61° F., a delightful temperature for the temperate zone. But here thick clothing is necessary both indoors and out. The "poncho" (a blanket, with a hole in the middle for the head) is seen everywhere upon the shoulders of the natives as they walk about the streets. This is because of the thick fogs which prevail. For many days at a time the sun is invisible, and a drizzle like a heavy Scotch mist fills the air. This mist—the guara—saturates the clothing, settles in puddles upon the flat roofs, so that drops fall therefrom upon the people sleeping under them, even forces itself through the house walls so that they exude moisture. There are no fireplaces, or stoves for heating purposes, and so a thick coating of mildew soon covers everything that is not regularly cared for, and diseases consequent upon the dampness pervade the city. The strangest thing connected with the guara is the fact that it is local. In places like Miraflores and Chorillos, five and nine miles away, bright sunshine prevails while Lima is shrouded in fogs. Possibly the cold winds that sweep down the valley of the Rimac, and, meeting the warmer air currents blowing in from the Pacific, rob them of their moisture, may account for the phenomenon. Certain it is that Lima is, and always has been, a most unhealthy city. The tradition, no doubt baseless, that when the Inca heard where

The city was laid out on a very regular plan. The streets were to be much wider than usual in Spanish towns, and perfectly straight, crossing one another at right angles, and so far asunder as to afford ample space for gardens to the dwellings, and for public squares. It was arranged in a triangular form, having the river for its base, the waters of which were to be carried, by means of stone conduits through all the principal streets, affording facilities for irrigating the grounds around the houses.

No sooner had the governor decided on the site and on the plan of the city than he commenced operations with characteristic energy. The Indians were collected from a distance of more than a hundred miles to aid in the work. The Spaniards applied themselves with vigor to the task, under the eye of their chief. The sword was exchanged for the tool of the artisan. The camp was converted into a hive of diligent laborers; and the sounds of war were succeeded by the peaceful hum of a busy population. The *plaza*, which was extensive, was to be surrounded by the cathedral, the palace of the viceroy, that of the municipality,

Pizarro proposed to build his capital he rejoiced greatly because "soon no Spaniard would be left alive," expresses the general impression concerning its climate. Von Tschudi wrote in 1868: "It may be regarded as certain that two-thirds of the people of Lima are suffering at all times from tercianas (intermittent fevers) or from the consequences of the disease." (Travels in Peru, p. 160.) The river Rimac, which flows through the city, is for a large part of the year only a net-work of streamlets losing themselves in a wide and shallow bed. Only when the summer suns send the melting snows down from the mountains and the summer cloud-bursts fill the far away Quebradas with rushing torrents does it become the "broad stream" of which Prescott speaks.—M.]

and other public buildings; and their foundations were laid on a scale and with a solidity which defied the assaults of time, and, in some instances, even the more formidable shock of earthquakes, that, at different periods, have laid portions of the fair capital in ruins.²²

While these events were going on, Almagro, the Marshal, as he is usually termed by chroniclers of the time, had gone to Cuzco, whither he was sent by Pizarro to take command of that capital. He received also instructions to undertake, either by himself or by his captains, the conquest of the countries towards the south, forming part of Chili. Almagro, since his arrival at Caxamalca, had seemed willing to smother his ancient feelings of resentment towards his associate, or, at least, to conceal the expression of them, and had consented to take command under him in obedience to the royal mandate. He had even, in his despatches, the magnanimity to make honorable mention of Pizarro, as one anxious to promote the interests of the crown. Yet he did not so far trust his companion as to neglect the precaution of sending a confidential agent to represent his own services, when Hernando Pizarro undertook his mission to the mother-country.

That cavalier, after touching at St. Domingo, had arrived without accident at Seville in January, 1534. Besides the royal fifth, he took with

²² Montesinos, *Annales*, MS., año 1535.—*Conq. i Pob. del Piru*, MS.—The remains of Pizarro's palace may still be discerned in the *Callejon de Petateros*, says Stevenson, who gives the best account of Lima to be found in any modern book of travels which I have consulted. *Residence in South America*, vol. ii. chap. 8.

him gold to the value of half a million of *pesos*, together with a large quantity of silver, the property of private adventurers, some of whom, satisfied with their gains, had returned to Spain in the same vessel with himself. The custom-house was filled with solid ingots, and with vases of different forms, imitations of animals, flowers, fountains, and other objects, executed with more or less skill, and all of pure gold, to the astonishment of the spectators, who flocked from the neighboring country to gaze on these marvellous productions of Indian art.²³ Most of the manufactured articles were the property of the crown; and Hernando Pizarro, after a short stay at Seville, selected some of the most gorgeous specimens, and crossed the country to Calatayud, where the emperor was holding the cortes of Aragon.

Hernando was instantly admitted to the royal presence, and obtained a gracious audience. He was more conversant with courts than either of his brothers, and his manners, when in situations that imposed a restraint on the natural arrogance of his temper, were graceful and even attractive. In a respectful tone, he now recited the stirring adventures of his brother and his little troop of followers, the fatigues they had endured, the difficulties they had overcome, their capture of the Peruvian Inca, and his magnificent ransom. He had not to tell of the massacre of the unfortunate prince, for that tragic event, which had occurred since his departure from the country, was still

²³ Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 5, lib. 6, cap. 13.—Lista de todo lo que Hernando Pizarro trajo del Peru, ap. MSS. de Muñoz.

unknown to him. The cavalier expatiated on the productiveness of the soil, and on the civilization of the people, evinced by their proficiency in various mechanic arts; in proof of which he displayed the manufactures of wool and cotton and the rich ornaments of gold and silver. The monarch's eyes sparkled with delight as he gazed on these last. He was too sagacious not to appreciate the advantages of a conquest which secured to him a country so rich in agricultural resources. But the returns from these must necessarily be gradual and long deferred; and he may be excused for listening with still greater satisfaction to Pizarro's tales of its mineral stores; for his ambitious projects had drained the imperial treasury, and he saw in the golden tide thus unexpectedly poured in upon him the immediate means of replenishing it.

Charles made no difficulty, therefore, in granting the petitions of the fortunate adventurer. All the previous grants to Francisco Pizarro and his associates were confirmed in the fullest manner; and the boundaries of the governor's jurisdiction were extended seventy leagues farther towards the south. Nor did Almagro's services, this time, go unrequited. He was empowered to discover and occupy the country for the distance of two hundred leagues, beginning at the southern limit of Pizarro's territory.²⁴ Charles, in still further

²⁴ The country to be occupied received the name of New Toledo in the royal grant, as the conquests of Pizarro had been designated by that of New Castile. But the present attempt to change the Indian name was as ineffectual as the former, and the ancient title of Chili still designates that narrow strip of fruitful land between the Andes and the ocean, which stretches to the southern extremity of the continent.

proof of his satisfaction, was graciously pleased to address a letter to the two commanders, in which he complimented them on their prowess and thanked them for their services. This act of justice to Almagro would have been highly honorable to Hernando Pizarro, considering the unfriendly relations in which they stood to each other, had it not been made necessary by the presence of the marshal's own agents at court, who, as already noticed, stood ready to supply any deficiency in the statements of the emissary.

In this display of the royal bounty, the envoy, as will readily be believed, did not go without his reward. He was lodged as an attendant of the court; was made a knight of Santiago, the most prized of the chivalric orders in Spain; was empowered to equip an armament, and to take command of it; and the royal officers at Seville were required to aid him in his views and facilitate his embarkation for the Indies.²⁵

The arrival of Hernando Pizarro in the country, and the reports spread by him and his followers, created a sensation among the Spaniards such as had not been felt since the first voyage of Columbus. The discovery of the New World had filled the minds of men with indefinite expectations of wealth, of which almost every succeeding expedition had proved the fallacy. The conquest of Mexico, though calling forth general admiration as a brilliant and wonderful exploit, had as yet failed to produce those golden results which had been so fondly anticipated. The splendid

²⁵ Herrera, *Hist. general*, loc. cit.

promises held out by Francisco Pizarro on his recent visit to Spain had not revived the confidence of his countrymen, made incredulous by repeated disappointment. All that they were assured of was the difficulties of the enterprise; and their distrust of its results was sufficiently shown by the small number of followers, and those only of the most desperate stamp, who were willing to take their chance in the adventure.

But now these promises were realized. It was no longer the golden reports that they were to trust, but the gold itself, which was displayed in such profusion before them. All eyes were now turned towards the West. The broken spendthrift saw in it the quarter where he was to repair his fortunes as speedily as he had ruined them. The merchant, instead of seeking the precious commodities of the East, looked in the opposite direction, and counted on far higher gains, where the most common articles of life commanded so exorbitant prices. The cavalier, eager to win both gold and glory at the point of his lance, thought to find a fair field for his prowess on the mountain-plains of the Andes. Hernando Pizarro found that his brother had judged rightly in allowing as many of his company as chose to return home, confident that the display of their wealth would draw ten to his banner for every one that quitted it.

In a short time that cavalier saw himself at the head of one of the most numerous and well-appointed armaments, probably, that had left the shores of Spain since the great fleet of Ovando,

in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella. It was scarcely more fortunate than this. Hardly had Hernando put to sea when a violent tempest fell on the squadron and compelled him to return to port and refit. At length he crossed the ocean, and reached the little harbor of Nombre de Dios in safety. But no preparations had been made for his coming, and, as he was detained here some time before he could pass the mountains, his company suffered greatly from scarcity of food. In their extremity, the most unwholesome articles were greedily devoured, and many a cavalier spent his little savings to procure himself a miserable subsistence. Disease, as usual, trod closely in the track of famine, and numbers of the unfortunate adventurers, sinking under the unaccustomed heats of the climate, perished on the very threshold of discovery.

It was the tale so often repeated in the history of Spanish enterprise. A few, more lucky than the rest, stumbled on some unexpected prize, and hundreds, attracted by their success, pressed forward in the same path. But the rich spoil which lay on the surface had been already swept away by the first comers, and those who followed were to win their treasure by long-protracted and painful exertion. Broken in spirit and in fortune, many returned in disgust to their native shores, while others remained where they were, to die in despair. They thought to dig for gold; but they dug only their graves.

Yet it fared not thus with all Pizarro's company. Many of them, crossing the Isthmus with

him to Panamá, came in time to Peru, where, in the desperate chances of its revolutionary struggles, some few arrived at posts of profit and distinction. Among those who first reached the Peruvian shore was an emissary sent by Almagro's agent to inform him of the important grant made to him by the crown. The tidings reached him just as he was making his entry into Cuzco, where he was received with all respect by Juan and Gonzalo Pizarro, who, in obedience to their brother's commands, instantly resigned the government of the capital into the marshal's hands. But Almagro was greatly elated on finding himself now placed by his sovereign in a command that made him independent of the man who had so deeply wronged him; and he intimated that in the exercise of his present authority he acknowledged no superior. In this lordly humor he was confirmed by several of his followers, who insisted that Cuzco fell to the south of the territory ceded to Pizarro, and consequently came within that now granted to the marshal. Among these followers were several of Alvarado's men, who, though of better condition than the soldiers of Pizarro, were under much worse discipline, and had acquired, indeed, a spirit of unbridled license under that unscrupulous chief.²⁶ They now evinced little concern for the native population of Cuzco, and, not content

²⁶ In point of discipline they presented a remarkable contrast to the Conquerors of Peru, if we may take the word of Pedro Pizarro, who assures us that his comrades would not have plucked so much as an ear of corn without leave from their commander: "Que los que passamos con el Marquez á la conquista no ovo hombre que osase tomar vna masorca de mahiz sin licencia." Descub. y Conq., MS.

with the public edifices, seized on the dwellings of individuals, where it suited their convenience, appropriating their contents without ceremony,—showing as little respect, in short, for person or property as if the place had been taken by storm.²⁷

While these events were passing in the ancient Peruvian capital, the governor was still at Lima, where he was greatly disturbed by the accounts he received of the new honors conferred on his associate. He did not know that his own jurisdiction had been extended seventy leagues farther to the south, and he entertained the same suspicion with Almagro, that the capital of the Incas did not rightfully come within his present limits. He saw all the mischief likely to result from this opulent city falling into the hands of his rival, who would thus have an almost indefinite means of gratifying his own cupidity and that of his followers. He felt that, under the present circumstances, it was not safe to allow Almagro to anticipate the possession of power to which, as yet, he had no legitimate right; for the despatches containing the warrant for it still remained with Hernando Pizarro, at Panamá, and all that had reached Peru was a copy of a garbled extract.

²⁷ "Se entraron de paz en la ciudad del Cusco i los salieron todos los naturales á rescibir i les tomaron la Ciudad con todo quanto havia de dentro llenas las casas de mucha ropa i algunas oro i plata i otras muchas cosas, i las que no estaban bien llenas las enchian de lo que tomaban de las demas casas de la dicha ciudad, sin pensar que en ello hacian ofensa alguna Divina ni humana, i porquesta es una cosa larga i casi incomprehensible, la dexase al juicio de quien mas entiende aunque en el dafio rescibido por parte de los naturales cerca deste articulo yo sé harto por mis pecados que no quisiera saber ni haver visto." Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.

Without loss of time, therefore, he sent instructions to Cuzco for his brothers to resume the government, while he defended the measure to Almagro on the ground that when he should hereafter receive his credentials it would be unbecoming to be found already in possession of the post. He concluded by urging him to go forward without delay in his expedition to the south.

But neither the marshal nor his friends were pleased with the idea of so soon relinquishing the authority which they now considered as his right. The Pizarros, on the other hand, were pertinacious in reclaiming it. The dispute grew warmer and warmer. Each party had its supporters; the city was split into factions; and the municipality, the soldiers, and even the Indian population took sides in the struggle for power. Matters were proceeding to extremity, menacing the capital with violence and bloodshed, when Pizarro himself appeared among them.²⁸

On receiving tidings of the fatal consequences of his mandates, he had posted in all haste to Cuzco, where he was greeted with undisguised joy by the natives, as well as by the more temperate Spaniards, anxious to avert the impending storm. The governor's first interview was with Almagro, whom he embraced with a seeming cordiality in his manner, and, without any show of resentment, inquired into the cause of the present disturbances. To this the marshal replied by throwing the blame on Pizarro's brothers; but, although the governor

²⁸ Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 5, lib 7, cap. 6.—*Conq. i Pob. del Piru*, MS.

reprimanded them with some asperity for their violence, it was soon evident that his sympathies were on their side, and the dangers of a feud between the two associates seemed greater than ever. Happily, it was postponed by the intervention of some common friends, who showed more discretion than their leaders. With their aid a reconciliation was at length effected, on the grounds substantially of their ancient compact.

It was agreed that their friendship should be maintained inviolate; and, by a stipulation that reflects no great credit on the parties, it was provided that neither should malign nor disparage the other, especially in their despatches to the emperor, and that neither should hold communication with the government without the knowledge of his confederate; lastly, that both the expenditures and the profits of future discovery should be shared equally by the associates. The wrath of Heaven was invoked by the most solemn imprecations on the head of whichever should violate this compact, and the Almighty was implored to visit the offender with loss of property and of life in this world, and with eternal perdition in that to come!²⁹ The parties further bound themselves to the observance of this contract by a solemn oath taken on the sacrament, as it was held in the hands of Father Bartolomé de Segovia, who concluded the ceremony by performing mass. The whole

²⁹ "E suplicamos á su infinita bondad que á qualquier de nos que fuere en contrario de lo así convenido, con todo rigor de justicia permita la perdición de su ánima, fin y mal acavamiento de su vida, destrucción y pérdida de su familia, honrras, y hacienda." Capitulacion entre Pizarro y Almagro, 12 de Junio, 1535, MS.

proceeding, and the articles of agreement, were carefully recorded by the notary, in an instrument bearing date June 12th, 1585, and attested by a long list of witnesses.⁸⁰

Thus did these two ancient comrades, after trampling on the ties of friendship and honor, hope to knit themselves to each other by the holy bands of religion. That it should have been necessary to resort to so extraordinary a measure might have furnished them with the best proof of its inefficacy.

Not long after this accommodation of their differences, the marshal raised his standard for Chili; and numbers, won by his popular manners and by his liberal largesses,—liberal to prodigality,—eagerly joined in the enterprise, which they fondly trusted would lead even to greater riches than they had found in Peru. Two Indians, Paullo Topa, a brother of the Inca Manco, and Villac Umu, the high-priest of the nation, were sent in advance, with three Spaniards, to prepare the way for the little army. A detachment of a hundred and fifty men, under an officer named Saavedra, next followed. Almagro remained behind to collect further recruits; but before his levies were completed he began his march, feeling himself insecure, with his diminished strength, in the neighborhood of Pizarro!⁸¹ The remainder of his forces, when mustered, were to follow him.

⁸⁰ This remarkable document, the original of which is preserved in the archives of Simancas, may be found entire in the Castilian, in Appendix No. 11.

⁸¹ "El Adelantado Almagro despues que se vido en el Cusco descarnado de su jente temio al Marques no le prendiese por las alteraciones

Thus relieved of the presence of his rival, the governor returned without further delay to the coast, to resume his labors in the settlement of the country. Besides the principal city of "The Kings," he established others along the Pacific, destined to become hereafter the flourishing marts of commerce. The most important of these, in honor of his birthplace, he named Truxillo, planting it on a site already indicated by Almagro.³² He made also numerous *repartimientos* both of lands and Indians among his followers, in the usual manner of the Spanish Conquerors;³³ though here the ignorance of the real resources of the country led to very different results from what he had intended, as the territory smallest in extent not unfrequently, from the hidden treasures in its bosoms, turned out greatest in value.³⁴

But nothing claimed so much of Pizarro's care

pasadas que havia tenido con sus hermanos como ya hemos dicho, i dicen que por ser avisado dello tomó la posta i se fue al pueblo de Paria donde estava su Capitan Saavedra." Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.

³² Carta de F. Pizarro a Molina, MS.

³³ I have before me copies of two grants of *encomiendas* by Pizarro, the one dated at Xauxa, 1534, the other at Cusco, 1539.—They emphatically enjoin on the colonist the religious instruction of the natives under his care, as well as kind and considerate usage. How ineffectual were the recommendations may be inferred from the lament of the anonymous contemporary often cited, that "from this time forth the pest of personal servitude was established among the Indians, equally disastrous to body and soul of both the master and the slave." (Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.) This honest burst of indignation, not to have been expected in the rude Conqueror, came probably from an ecclesiastic.

³⁴ "El Marques hizo encomiendas en los Españoles, las quales fueron por noticias que ni el sabia lo que dava ni nadie lo que rescabia sino a tieno ya poco mas ó menos, y así muchos que pensaron que se les dava pocos se hallaron con mucho y al contrario." Ondegardo, Rel. Prim., MS.

as the rising metropolis of Lima; and so eagerly did he press forward the work, and so well was he seconded by the multitude of laborers at his command, that he had the satisfaction to see his young capital, with its stately edifices and its pomp of gardens, rapidly advancing towards completion. It is pleasing to contemplate the softer features in the character of the rude soldier, as he was thus occupied with healing up the ravages of war and laying broad the foundations of an empire more civilized than that which he had overthrown. This peaceful occupation formed a contrast to the life of incessant turmoil in which he had been hitherto engaged. It seemed, too, better suited to his own advancing age, which naturally invited to repose. And, if we may trust his chroniclers, there was no part of his career in which he took greater satisfaction. It is certain there is no part which has been viewed with greater satisfaction by posterity; and, amidst the woe and desolation which Pizarro and his followers brought on the devoted land of the Incas, Lima, the beautiful City of the Kings, still survives as the most glorious work of his creation, the fairest gem on the shores of the Pacific.

CHAPTER X

ESCAPE OF THE INCA—RETURN OF HERNANDO PIZARRO—RISING OF THE PERUVIANS—SIEGE AND BURNING OF CUZCO—DISTRESSES OF THE SPANIARDS—STORMING OF THE FORTRESS—PIZARRO'S DISMAY—THE INCA RAISES THE SIEGE

1535-1536

WHILE the absence of his rival Almagro relieved Pizarro from all immediate disquietude from that quarter, his authority was menaced in another, where he had least expected it. This was from the native population of the country. Hitherto the Peruvians had shown only a tame and submissive temper, that inspired their conquerors with too much contempt to leave room for apprehension. They had passively acquiesced in the usurpation of the invaders,—had seen one monarch butchered, another placed on the vacant throne, their temples despoiled of their treasures, their capital and country appropriated and parcelled out among the Spaniards, but, with the exception of an occasional skirmish in the mountain-passes, not a blow had been struck in defence of their rights. Yet this was the warlike nation which had spread its conquests over so large a part of the continent!

In his career, Pizarro, though he scrupled at nothing to effect his object, had not usually coun-

tenanced such superfluous acts of cruelty as had too often stained the arms of his countrymen in other parts of the continent, and which in the course of a few years had exterminated nearly a whole population in Hispaniola. He had struck one astounding blow, by the seizure of Atahualpa; and he seemed willing to rely on this to strike terror into the natives. He even affected some respect for the institutions of the country, and had replaced the monarch he had murdered by another of the legitimate line. Yet this was but a pretext. The kingdom had experienced a revolution of the most decisive kind. Its ancient institutions were subverted. Its heaven-descended aristocracy was levelled almost to the condition of the peasant. The people became the serfs of the Conquerors. Their dwellings in the capital—at least, after the arrival of Alvarado's officers—were seized and appropriated. The temples were turned into stables; the royal residences into barracks for the troops. The sanctity of the religious houses was violated. Thousands of matrons and maidens, who, however erroneous their faith, lived in chaste seclusion in the conventual establishments, were now turned abroad and became the prey of a licentious soldiery.¹ A favorite wife

¹ So says the author of the *Conquista i Poblacion del Piru*, a contemporary writer, who describes what he saw himself, as well as what he gathered from others. Several circumstances, especially the honest indignation he expresses at the excesses of the Conquerors, lead one to suppose he may have been an ecclesiastic, one of the good men who attended the cruel expedition on an errand of love and mercy. It is to be hoped that his credulity leads him to exaggerate the misdeeds of his countrymen. According to him, there were full six thousand women of rank living in the convents of Cusco, served

of the young Inca was debauched by the Castilian officers. The Inca, himself treated with contemptuous indifference, found that he was a poor dependent, if not a tool, in the hands of the conquerors.²

Yet the Inca Manco was a man of a lofty spirit and a courageous heart; such a one as might have challenged comparison with the bravest of his ancestors in the prouder days of the empire. Stung to the quick by the humiliations to which he was exposed, he repeatedly urged Pizarro to restore him to the real exercise of power, as well as to the show of it. But Pizarro evaded a request so incompatible with his own ambitious schemes, or, indeed, with the policy of Spain, and the young Inca and his nobles were left to brood over their injuries in secret and await patiently the hour of vengeance.

each by fifteen or twenty female attendants, most of whom that did not perish in the war suffered a more melancholy fate, as the victims of prostitution. The passage is so remarkable, and the MS. so rare, that I will cite it in the original: "De estas señoras del Cuzco es cierto de tener grande sentimiento el que tuviese alguna humanidad en el pecho, que en tiempo de la prosperidad del Cuzco quando los Españoles entraron en el havia grand cantidad de señoras que tenían sus casas i sus asientos mui quietas i sosegadas i vivían mui políticamente i como mui buenas mugeres, cada señora acompañada con quince o veinte mugeres que tenía de servicio en su casa bien traídas i aderezadas, i no salían menos desto i con grand onestidad i gravedad i atavío á su usanza, i es a la cantidad destas señoras principales creo yo que en el . . . que avía mas de seis mil sin las de servicio que creo yo que eran mas de veinte mil mugeres sin las de servicio i mamáconas que eran las que andavan como beatas, i dende á dos años casi no se allava en el Cuzco i su tierra sino cada qual i qual porque muchas murieron en la guerra que hubo i las otras vinieron las mas á ser malas mugeres. Señor perdone á quien fue la causa desto i á quien no lo remedia pudiendo." Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.

² Ibid., ubi supra.

The dissensions among the Spaniards themselves seemed to afford a favorable opportunity for this. The Peruvian chiefs held many conferences together on the subject, and the high-priest Villac Umu urged the necessity of a rising so soon as Almagro had withdrawn his forces from the city. It would then be comparatively easy, by assaulting the invaders on their several posts, scattered as they were over the country, to overpower them by superior numbers, and shake off their detested yoke before the arrival of fresh reinforcements should rivet it forever on the necks of his countrymen. A plan for a general rising was formed, and it was in conformity to it that the priest was selected by the Inca to bear Almagro company on the march, that he might secure the co-operation of the natives in the country, and then secretly return—as in fact he did—to take a part in the insurrection.

To carry their plans into effect, it became necessary that the Inca Manco should leave the city and present himself among his people. He found no difficulty in withdrawing from Cuzco, where his presence was scarcely heeded by the Spaniards, as his nominal power was held in little deference by the haughty and confident Conquerors. But in the capital there was a body of Indian allies more jealous of his movements. These were from the tribe of the Cañaris, a warlike race of the north, too recently reduced by the Incas to have much sympathy with them or their institutions. There were about a thousand of this people in the place, and, as they had conceived some suspicion of the

Inca's purpose, they kept an eye on his movements and speedily reported his absence to Juan Pizarro.

That cavalier, at the head of a small body of horse, instantly marched in pursuit of the fugitive, whom he was so fortunate as to discover in a thicket of reeds, in which he had sought to conceal himself, at no great distance from the city. Manco was arrested, brought back a prisoner to Cuzco, and placed under a strong guard in the fortress. The conspiracy seemed now at an end; and nothing was left to the unfortunate Peruvians but to bewail their ruined hopes, and to give utterance to their disappointment in doleful ballads, which rehearsed the captivity of their Inca and the downfall of his royal house.²

While these things were in progress, Hernando Pizarro returned to Ciudad de los Reyes, bearing with him the royal commission for the extension of his brother's powers, as well as of those conceded to Almagro. The envoy also brought the royal patent conferring on Francisco Pizarro the title of *Marques de los Atavillos*,*—a province in Peru. Thus was the fortunate adventurer placed in the ranks of the proud aristocracy of Castile, few of whose members could boast—if they had the courage to boast—their elevation from so humble an origin, as still fewer could justify it by a show of greater services to the crown.

² Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 5, lib. 8, cap. 1, 2.—Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 2, cap. 3.

* [Markham asserts that there is no record whatever that a special designation for his marquisate was ever granted to Pizarro. He signed himself simply the Marquis Pizarro.—M.]

The new marquis resolved not to forward the commission at present, to the marshal, whom he designed to engage still deeper in the conquest of Chili, that his attention might be diverted from Cuzco, which, however, his brother assured him, now fell, without doubt, within the newly-extended limits of his own territory. To make more sure of this important prize, he despatched Hernando to take the government of the capital into his own hands, as the one of his brothers on whose talents and practical experience he placed greatest reliance.

Hernando, notwithstanding his arrogant bearing towards his countrymen, had ever manifested a more than ordinary sympathy with the Indians. He had been the friend of Atahualpa,—to such a degree, indeed, that it was said, if he had been in the camp at the time, the fate of that unhappy monarch would probably have been averted. He now showed a similar friendly disposition towards his successor, Manco. He caused the Peruvian prince to be liberated from confinement, and gradually admitted him to some intimacy with himself. The crafty Indian availed himself of his freedom to mature his plans for the rising, but with so much caution that no suspicion of them crossed the mind of Hernando. Secrecy and silence are characteristic of the American, almost as invariably as the peculiar color of his skin. Manco disclosed to his conqueror the existence of several heaps of treasure and the places where they had been secreted; and when he had thus won his confidence he stimulated his cupidity

still further by an account of a statue of pure gold of his father Huayna Capac, which the wily Peruvian requested leave to bring from a secret cave in which it was deposited, among the neighboring Andes. Hernando, blinded by his avarice, consented to the Inca's departure.

He sent with him two Spanish soldiers, less as a guard than to aid him in the object of his expedition. A week elapsed, and yet he did not return, nor were there any tidings to be gathered of him. Hernando now saw his error, especially as his own suspicions were confirmed by the unfavorable reports of his Indian allies. Without further delay, he despatched his brother Juan, at the head of sixty horse, in quest of the Peruvian prince, with orders to bring him back once more a prisoner to his capital.

That cavalier, with his well-armed troops, soon traversed the environs of Cuzco, without discovering any vestige of the fugitive. The country was remarkably silent and deserted, until, as he approached the mountain-range that hems in the valley of Yucay, about six leagues from the city, he was met by the two Spaniards who had accompanied Manco. They informed Pizarro that it was only at the point of the sword he could recover the Inca, for the country was all in arms, and the Peruvian chief at its head was preparing to march on the capital. Yet he had offered no violence to their persons, but had allowed them to return in safety.

The Spanish captain found this story fully confirmed when he arrived at the river Yucay, on

the opposite bank of which were drawn up the Indian battalions to the number of many thousand men, who, with their young monarch at their head, prepared to dispute his passage. It seemed that they could not feel their position sufficiently strong without placing a river, as usual, between them and their enemy. The Spaniards were not checked by this obstacle. The stream, though deep, was narrow; and, plunging in, they swam their horses boldly across, amidst a tempest of stones and arrows that rattled thick as hail on their harness, finding occasionally some crevice or vulnerable point,—although the wounds thus received only goaded them to more desperate efforts. The barbarians fell back as the cavaliers made good their landing; but, without allowing the latter time to form, they returned with a spirit which they had hitherto seldom displayed, and enveloped them on all sides with their greatly superior numbers. The fight now raged fiercely. Many of the Indians were armed with lances headed with copper tempered almost to the hardness of steel, and with huge maces and battle-axes of the same metal. Their defensive armor, also, was in many respects excellent, consisting of stout doublets of quilted cotton, shields covered with skins, and casques richly ornamented with gold and jewels, or sometimes made like those of the Mexican, in the fantastic shape of the heads of wild animals, garnished with rows of teeth that grinned horribly above the visage of the warrior.⁴ The whole

⁴“Es gente,” says Oviedo, “muy belicosa é muy diestra; sus armas son picas, é ondas, porras é Alabardas de Plata é oro é cobre.”

army wore an aspect of martial ferocity, under the control of much higher military discipline than the Spaniards had before seen in the country.

The little band of cavaliers, shaken by the fury of the Indian assault, were thrown at first into some disorder, but at length, cheering on one another with the old war-cry of "St. Jago," they formed in solid column and charged boldly into the thick of the enemy. The latter, incapable of withstanding the shock, gave way, or were trampled down under the feet of the horses or pierced by the lances of the riders. Yet their flight was conducted with some order; and they turned at intervals, to let off a volley of arrows or to deal furious blows with their pole-axes and war-clubs. They fought as if conscious that they were under the eye of their Inca.

It was evening before they had entirely quitted the level ground and withdrawn into the fastnesses of the lofty range of hills which belt round the beautiful valley of Yucay. Juan Pizarro and his little troop encamped on the level at the base of the mountains. He had gained a victory, as usual, over immense odds; but he had never seen a field so well disputed, and his victory had cost him the lives of several men and horses, while many more had been wounded, and were nearly

(Hist. de las Indias, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 17.) Xerez has made a good enumeration of the native Peruvian arms. (Conq. del Peru, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 200.) Father Velasco has added considerably to this catalogue. According to him, they used copper swords, poniards, and other European weapons. (Hist. de Quito, tom. i. pp. 178-180.) He does not insist on their knowledge of fire-arms before the Conquest!

disabled by the fatigues of the day. But he trusted the severe lesson he had inflicted on the enemy, whose slaughter was great, would crush the spirit of resistance. He was deceived.

The following morning, great was his dismay to see the passes of the mountains filled up with dark lines of warriors, stretching as far as the eye could penetrate into the depths of the sierra, while dense masses of the enemy were gathered like thunder-clouds along the slopes and summits, as if ready to pour down in fury on the assailants. The ground, altogether unfavorable to the manœuvres of cavalry, gave every advantage to the Peruvians, who rolled down huge rocks from their elevated position and sent off incessant showers of missiles on the heads of the Spaniards. Juan Pizarro did not care to entangle himself farther in the perilous defile; and, though he repeatedly charged the enemy and drove them back with considerable loss, the second night found him with men and horses wearied and wounded, and as little advanced in the object of his expedition as on the preceding evening. From this embarrassing position, after a day or two more spent in unprofitable hostilities, he was surprised by a summons from his brother to return with all expedition to Cuzco, which was now besieged by the enemy!

Without delay he began his retreat, recrossed the valley, the recent scene of slaughter, swam the river Yucay, and, by a rapid countermarch, closely followed by the victorious Indians, who celebrated their success with songs or rather yells

of triumph, he arrived before nightfall in sight of the capital.

But very different was the sight which there met his eyes from what he had beheld on leaving it a few days before. The extensive environs, as far as the eye could reach, were occupied by a mighty host, which an indefinite computation swelled to the number of two hundred thousand warriors.⁵ The dusky lines of the Indian battalions stretched out to the very verge of the mountains; while, all around, the eye saw only the crests and waving banners of chieftains, mingled with rich panoplies of feather-work, which reminded some few who had served under Cortés of the military costume of the Aztecs. Above all rose a forest of long lances and battle-axes edged with copper, which, tossed to and fro in wild confusion, glittered in the rays of the setting sun, like light playing on the surface of a dark and troubled ocean. It was the first time that the Spaniards had beheld an Indian army in all its terrors,—such an army as the Incas led to battle, when the banner of the Sun was borne triumphant over the land.

Yet the bold hearts of the cavaliers, if for a moment dismayed by the sight, soon gathered courage as they closed up their files and prepared to open a way for themselves through the beleaguering host. But the enemy seemed to shun the encounter, and, falling back at their approach,

⁵ "Pues junta toda la gente quel ynga avia embiado á juntar que á lo que se entendió y los indios dixeron fueron dosientos mil indios de guerra los que vinieron á poner este cerco." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

left a free entrance into the capital. The Peruvians were probably not unwilling to draw as many victims as they could into the toils, conscious that the greater the number the sooner they would become sensible to the approaches of famine.⁶

Hernando Pizarro greeted his brother with no little satisfaction; for he brought an important addition to his force, which now, when all were united, did not exceed two hundred, horse and foot,⁷ besides a thousand Indian auxiliaries; an insignificant number, in comparison with the countless multitudes that were swarming at the gates. That night was passed by the Spaniards with feelings of the deepest anxiety, as they looked forward with natural apprehension to the morrow. It was early in February, 1536, when the siege of Cuzco commenced,—a siege memorable as calling out the most heroic displays of Indian and European valor, and bringing the two races into deadlier conflict with each other than had yet occurred in the conquest of Peru.

The numbers of the enemy seemed no less formidable during the night than by the light of day: far and wide their watch-fires were to be seen gleaming over valley and hill-top, as thickly scattered, says an eye-witness, as “the stars of heaven in a cloudless night.”⁸ Before these fires

⁶ Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—*Conq. i Pob. del Piru*, MS.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 5, lib. 8, cap. 4.—Gomara, *Hist. de las Ind.*, cap. 133.

⁷ “Y los pocos Españoles que heramos aun no doxientos todos.” Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.

⁸ “Pues de noche heran tantos los fuegos que no parecia sino vn cielo muy sereno lleno de estrellas.” Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.

had become pale in the light of the morning, the Spaniards were roused by the hideous clamor of conch, trumpet, and atabal, mingled with the fierce war-cries of the barbarians, as they let off volleys of missiles of every description, most of which fell harmless within the city. But others did more serious execution. These were burning arrows, and red-hot stones wrapped in cotton that had been steeped in some bituminous substance, which, scattering long trains of light through the air, fell on the roofs of the buildings and speedily set them on fire.⁹ These roofs, even of the better sort of edifices, were uniformly of thatch, and were ignited as easily as tinder. In a moment the flames burst forth from the most opposite quarters of the city. They quickly communicated to the woodwork in the interior of the buildings, and broad sheets of flame mingled with smoke rose up towards the heavens, throwing a fearful glare over every object. The rarefied atmosphere heightened the previous impetuosity of the wind, which fanning the rising flames, they rapidly spread from dwelling to dwelling, till the whole fiery mass, swayed to and fro by the tempest, surged and roared with the fury of a volcano. The heat became intense, and clouds of smoke, gathering in a dark pall over the city, produced a sense of

⁹ "Unas piedras rredondas y hechallas en el fuego y hasellas asqua embolvianlas en vnos algodones y poniendolas en hondas las tiravan a las cassas donde no alcanzavan á poner fuego con las manos, y ansi nos quemavan las cassas sin entendello. Otras veces con flechas encendidas tirandolas á las casas que como heran de paja luego se encendian." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

suffocation and almost blindness in those quarters where it was driven by the winds.¹⁰

The Spaniards were encamped in the great square, partly under awnings, and partly in the hall of the Inca Viracocha, on the ground since covered by the cathedral. Three times in the course of that dreadful day the roof of the building was on fire; but, although no efforts were made to extinguish it, the flames went out without doing much injury. This miracle was ascribed to the Blessed Virgin, who was distinctly seen by several of the Christian combatants, hovering over the spot on which was to be raised the temple dedicated to her worship.¹¹

Fortunately, the open space around Hernando's little company separated them from the immediate scene of conflagration. It afforded a means of preservation similar to that employed by the American hunter who endeavors to surround himself with a belt of wasted land when overtaken

¹⁰ "I era tanto el humo que casi los oviera de aogar i pasaron grand trabajo por esta causa i sino fuera porque de la una parte de la plasa no havia casas i estava desconorado no pudieran escapar porque si por todas partes les diera el humo i el calor siendo tan grande pasaron trabajo, pero la divina providencia lo estorvó." Conq. i Pob. del Peru, MS.

¹¹ The Temple was dedicated to Our Blessed Lady of the Assumption. The apparition of the Virgin was manifest not only to Christian but to Indian warriors, many of whom reported it to Garcilasso de la Vega, in whose hands the marvellous rarely loses any of its gloss. (Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 2, cap. 25.) It is further attested by Father Acosta, who came into the country forty years after the event (lib. 7, cap. 27). Both writers testify to the seasonable aid rendered by St. James, who with his buckler, displaying the device of his Military Order, and armed with his flaming sword, rode his white charger into the thick of the enemy. The patron Saint of Spain might always be relied on when his presence was needed: *dignus vindice nodus*.

by a conflagration in the prairies. All day the fire continued to rage, and at night the effect was even more appalling; for by the lurid flames the unfortunate Spaniards could read the consternation depicted in each other's ghastly countenances, while in the suburbs, along the slopes of the surrounding hills, might be seen the throng of besiegers, gazing with fiendish exultation on the work of destruction. High above the town, to the north, rose the gray fortress, which now showed ruddy in the glare, looking grimly down on the ruins of the fair city which it was no longer able to protect; and in the distance were to be discerned the shadowy forms of the Andes, soaring up in solitary grandeur into the regions of eternal silence, far beyond the wild tumult that raged so fearfully at their base.

Such was the extent of the city that it was several days before the fury of the fire was spent. Tower and temple, hut, palace, and hall, went down before it. Fortunately, among the buildings that escaped were the magnificent House of the Sun and the neighboring Convent of the Virgins. Their insulated position afforded the means, of which the Indians from motives of piety were willing to avail themselves, for their preservation.¹² Full one-half of the capital, so long the

¹² Garcilasso, *Com. Real.*, Parte 2, lib. 2, cap. 24.—Father Valverde, Bishop of Cuzco, who took so signal a part in the seizure of Atahualpa, was absent from the country at this period, but returned the following year. In a letter to the emperor, he contrasts the flourishing condition of the capital when he left it and that in which he now found it, despoiled, as well as its beautiful suburbs, of its ancient glories. "If I had not known the site of the city," he says, "I should not have recognized it as the same." The passage is too

chosen seat of Western civilization, the pride of the Incas, and the bright abode of their tutelar deity, was laid in ashes by the hands of his own children. It was some consolation for them to reflect that it burned over the heads of its conquerors,—their trophy and their tomb!

During the long period of the conflagration the Spaniards made no attempt to extinguish the flames. Such an attempt would have availed nothing. Yet they did not tamely submit to the assaults of the enemy, and they sallied forth from time to time to repel them. But the fallen timbers and scattered rubbish of the houses presented serious impediments to the movements of horse; and when these were partially cleared away by the efforts of the infantry and the Indian allies, the Peruvians planted stakes and threw barricades across the path, which proved equally embarrassing.¹³ To remove them was a work of

remarkable to be omitted. The original letter exists in the archives of Simancas: "Certifico á V. M. que si no me acordara del sitio desta Ciudad yo no la conociera, á lo menos por los edificios y Pueblos della: porque quando el Gobernador D. Francisco Pizarro entró aqui y entré yo con él estava este valle tan hermoso en edificios y poblacion que en torno tenia que era cosa de admiracion vello, porque aunque la Ciudad en sí no ternia mas de 3 o 4000 casas, ternia en torno quasi á vista 19 o 20,000; la fortaleza que estava sobre la Ciudad parecia desde á parte una mui gran fortaleza de las de España: agora la mayor parte de la Ciudad esta toda derivada y quemada; la fortaleza no tiene quasi nada enhiesso; todos los pueblos de alderredor no tienē sino las paredes que por maravilla al casa cubierta! La cosa que mas contentamiento me dio en esta Ciudad fue la Iglesia, que para en Indias es harto buena cosa, aunque segun la riqueza a havido en esta tierra pudiera ser mas semejante al Templo de Salomon." Carta del Obispo F. Vicente de Valverde al Emperador, MS., 20 de Marzo, 1539.

¹³ Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—"Los Indios ganaron el Cuzco casi todo desta manera que enganando la calle hivan haciendo

time and no little danger, as the pioneers were exposed to the whole brunt of the enemy's archery, and the aim of the Peruvian was sure. When at length the obstacles were cleared away and a free course was opened to the cavalry, they rushed with irresistible impetuosity on their foes, who, falling back in confusion, were cut to pieces by the riders or pierced through with their lances. The slaughter on these occasions was great; but the Indians, nothing disheartened, usually returned with renewed courage to the attack, and, while fresh reinforcements met the Spaniards, in front, others, lying in ambush among the ruins, threw the troops into disorder by assailing them on the flanks. The Peruvians were expert both with bow and sling; and these encounters, notwithstanding the superiority of their arms, cost the Spaniards more lives than in their crippled condition they could afford to spare,—a loss poorly compensated by that of tenfold the number of the enemy. One weapon, peculiar to South American warfare, was used with some effect by the Peruvians. This was the *lasso*,—a long rope with a noose at the end, which they adroitly threw over the rider, or entangled with it the legs of his horse, so as to bring them both to the ground. More than one Spaniard fell into the hands of the enemy by this expedient.¹⁴

Thus harassed, sleeping on their arms, with their horses picketed by their side, ready for action at

una pared para que los cavallos ni los Españoles no los pudiesen romper." Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.

¹⁴ Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 5, lib. 8, cap. 4.

any and every hour, the Spaniards had no rest by night or by day. To add to their troubles, the fortress which overlooked the city, and completely commanded the great square in which they were quartered, had been so feebly garrisoned in their false sense of security that on the approach of the Peruvians it had been abandoned without a blow in its defence. It was now occupied by a strong body of the enemy, who from his elevated position sent down showers of missiles, from time to time, which added greatly to the annoyance of the besieged. Bitterly did their captain now repent the improvident security which had led him to neglect a post so important.

Their distresses were still further aggravated by the rumors which continually reached their ears of the state of the country. The rising, it was said, was general throughout the land; the Spaniards living on their insulated plantations had all been massacred; Lima and Truxillo and the principal cities were besieged, and must soon fall into the enemy's hands; the Peruvians were in possession of the passes, and all communications were cut off, so that no relief was to be expected from their countrymen on the coast. Such were the dismal stories (which, however exaggerated, had too much foundation in fact) that now found their way into the city from the camp of the besiegers. And, to give greater credit to the rumors, eight or ten human heads were rolled into the *plaza*, in whose blood-stained visages the Spaniards recognized with horror the lineaments of

their companions who they knew had been dwelling in solitude on their estates!¹⁵

Overcome by these horrors, many were for abandoning the place at once, as no longer tenable, and for opening a passage for themselves to the coast with their own good swords. There was a daring in the enterprise which had a charm for the adventurous spirit of the Castilian. Better, they said, to perish in a manly struggle for life than to die thus ignominiously, pent up like foxes in their holes to be suffocated by the hunter!

But the Pizarros, De Rojas, and some others of the principal cavaliers refused to acquiesce in a measure which, they said, must cover them with dishonor.¹⁶ Cuzco had been the great prize for which they had contended; it was the ancient seat of empire, and, though now in ashes, would again rise from its ruins as glorious as before. All eyes would be turned on them, as its defenders, and their failure, by giving confidence to the enemy, might decide the fate of their countrymen throughout the land. They were placed in that post as the post of honor, and better would it be to die there than to desert it.

There seemed, indeed, no alternative; for every avenue to escape was cut off by an enemy who had perfect knowledge of the country and pos-

¹⁵ Herrera, *His. general*, dec. 5, lib. 8, cap. 4.—Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.

¹⁶ "Pues Hernando Pizarro nunca estuvo en ello y les respondia que todos aviamos de morir y no desamparar el cusco. Juntavanse á estas consultas Hernando Pizarro y sus hermanos, Graviel de Rojas, Hernan Ponce de Leon, el Thesorero Riquelme." Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.

session of all its passes. But this state of things could not last long. The Indian could not, in the long run, contend with the white man. The spirit of insurrection would die out of itself. The great army would melt away, unaccustomed as the natives were to the privations incident to a protracted campaign. Reinforcements would be daily coming in from the colonies; and, if the Castilians would be but true to themselves for a season, they would be relieved by their own countrymen, who would never suffer them to die like outcasts among the mountains.

The cheering words and courageous bearing of the cavaliers went to the hearts of their followers; for the soul of the Spaniard readily responded to the call of honor, if not of humanity. All now agreed to stand by their leader to the last. But, if they would remain longer in their present position, it was absolutely necessary to dislodge the enemy from the fortress; and, before venturing on this dangerous service, Hernando Pizarro resolved to strike such a blow as should intimidate the besiegers from further attempts to molest his present quarters.

He communicated his plan of attack to his officers; and, forming his little troop into three divisions, he placed them under command of his brother Gonzalo, of Gabriel de Rojas, an officer in whom he reposed great confidence, and of Hernan Ponce de Leon. The Indian pioneers were sent forward to clear away the rubbish, and the several divisions moved simultaneously up the principal avenues towards the camp of the be-

siegers. Such stragglers as they met in their way were easily cut to pieces, and the three bodies, bursting impetuously on the disordered lines of the Peruvians, took them completely by surprise. For some moments there was little resistance, and the slaughter was terrible. But the Indians gradually rallied, and, coming into something like order, returned to the fight with the courage of men who had long been familiar with danger. They fought hand to hand with their copper-headed war-clubs and pole-axes, while a storm of darts, stones, and arrows rained on the well-defended bodies of the Christians.

The barbarians showed more discipline than was to have been expected; for which, it is said, they were indebted to some Spanish prisoners, from several of whom the Inca, having generously spared their lives, took occasional lessons in the art of war. The Peruvians had also learned to manage with some degree of skill the weapons of their conquerors; and they were seen armed with bucklers, helmets, and swords of European workmanship, and even, in a few instances, mounted on the horses which they had taken from the white men.¹⁷ The young Inca, in particular, accoutred in the European fashion, rode a war-horse, which he managed with considerable address, and, with a long lance in his hand, led on his followers to the attack. This readiness to adopt the superior arms and tactics of the Conquerors intimates a

¹⁷ Herrera assures us that the Peruvians even turned the fire-arms of their Conquerors against them, compelling their prisoners to put the muskets in order and manufacture powder for them. Hist. general, dec. 5, lib. 8, cap. 5, 6.

higher civilization than that which belonged to the Aztec, who, in his long collision with the Spaniards, was never so far divested of his terror of the horse as to venture to mount him.

But a few days or weeks of training were not enough to give familiarity with weapons, still less with tactics, so unlike those to which the Peruvians had been hitherto accustomed. The fight on the present occasion, though hotly contested, was not of long duration. After a gallant struggle, in which the natives threw themselves fearlessly on the horsemen, endeavoring to tear them from their saddles, they were obliged to give way before the repeated shock of their charges. Many were trampled under foot, others cut down by the Spanish broadswords, while the arquebusiers, supporting the cavalry, kept up a running fire that did terrible execution on the flanks and rear of the fugitives. At length, sated with slaughter, and trusting that the chastisement he had inflicted on the enemy would secure him from further annoyance for the present, the Castilian general drew back his forces to their quarters in the capital.¹⁸

His next step was the recovery of the citadel. It was an enterprise of danger. The fortress, which overlooked the northern section of the city, stood high on a rocky eminence, so steep as to be inaccessible on this quarter, where it was defended only by a single wall. Towards the open country it was more easy of approach; but there it was

¹⁸ Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—*Conq. i Pob. del Piru*, MS.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 5, lib. 8, cap. 4, 5.

protected by two semicircular walls,* each about twelve hundred feet in length, and of great thickness. They were built of massive stones, or rather rocks, put together without cement, so as to form a kind of rustic-work. The level of the ground between these lines of defence was raised up so as to enable the garrison to discharge their arrows at the assailants while their own persons were protected by the parapet. Within the interior wall was the fortress, consisting of three strong towers, one of great height, which, with a smaller one, was now held by the enemy, under the command of an Inca noble, a warrior of well-tried valor, prepared to defend it to the last extremity.

The perilous enterprise was intrusted by Hernando Pizarro to his brother Juan, a cavalier in whose bosom burned the adventurous spirit of a knight-errant of romance. As the fortress was to be approached through the mountain-passes, it became necessary to divert the enemy's attention to another quarter. A little while before sunset, Juan Pizarro left the city with a picked corps of horsemen, and took a direction opposite to that of the fortress, that the besieging army might suppose the object was a foraging expedition. But, secretly countermarching in the night, he fortunately found the passes undefended, and arrived before the outer wall of the fortress without giving the alarm to the garrison.¹⁹

* Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.

* [There were three semicircular walls. (See note, vol. i. p. 20.—M.)]

The entrance was through a narrow opening in the centre of the rampart; but this was now closed up with heavy stones, that seemed to form one solid work with the rest of the masonry. It was an affair of time to dislodge these huge masses in such a manner as not to rouse the garrison. The Indian nations, who rarely attacked in the night, were not sufficiently acquainted with the art of war even to provide against surprise by posting sentinels. When the task was accomplished, Juan Pizarro and his gallant troop rode through the gateway and advanced towards the second parapet.

But their movements had not been conducted so secretly as to escape notice, and they now found the interior court swarming with warriors, who, as the Spaniards drew near, let off clouds of missiles that compelled them to come to a halt. Juan Pizarro, aware that no time was to be lost, ordered one-half of his corps to dismount, and, putting himself at their head, prepared to make a breach as before in the fortifications. He had been wounded some days previously in the jaw, so that, finding his helmet caused him pain, he rashly dispensed with it, and trusted for protection to his buckler.³⁰ Leading on his men, he encouraged them in the work of demolition, in the face of such a storm of stones, javelins, and arrows as might have made the stoutest heart shrink from encountering it. The good mail of the Spaniards did not always protect them; but others took the place of such as fell, until a breach was made, and

³⁰ Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.

the cavalry pouring in, rode down all who opposed them.

The parapet was now abandoned, and the Indians, hurrying with disorderly flight across the enclosure, took refuge on a kind of platform or terrace, commanded by the principal tower. Here, rallying, they shot off fresh volleys of missiles against the Spaniards, while the garrison in the fortress hurled down fragments of rock and timber on their heads. Juan Pizarro, still among the foremost, sprang forward on the terrace, cheering on his men by his voice and example; but at this moment he was struck by a large stone on the head, not then protected by his buckler, and was stretched on the ground. The dauntless chief still continued to animate his followers by his voice, till the terrace was carried and its miserable defenders were put to the sword. His sufferings were then too much for him, and he was removed to the town below, where, notwithstanding every exertion to save him, he survived the injury but a fortnight, and died in great agony.²¹ To say that he was a Pizarro is enough to attest his claim to valor. But it is his praise that his valor was tempered by courtesy. His own nature appeared mild by contrast with the haughty temper of his brothers, and his manners made him a favorite of the army. He had served in the conquest of Peru from the first,

²¹ "Y estando batallando con ellos para echillos de alli Joan Pizarro se descuido descubrirse la cabeça con la adarga y con las muchas pedradas que tiravan le acertaron vna en la caveça que le quebraron los cascos y dende á quinze dias murio desta herida y ansi herido estuvo forcejando con los yndios y españoles hasta que se gano este terrado y ganado le abaxaron al Cusco." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

and no name on the roll of its conquerors is less tarnished by the reproach of cruelty or stands higher in all the attributes of a true and valiant knight.²²

Though deeply sensible to his brother's disaster, Hernando Pizarro saw that no time was to be lost in profiting by the advantages already gained. Committing the charge of the town to Gonzalo, he put himself at the head of the assailants and laid vigorous siege to the fortresses. One surrendered after a short resistance. The other and more formidable of the two still held out under the brave Inca noble who commanded it. He was a man of an athletic frame, and might be seen striding along the battlements, armed with a Spanish buckler and cuirass, and in his hand wielding a formidable mace, garnished with points or knobs of copper. With this terrible weapon he struck down all who attempted to force a passage into the fortress. Some of his own followers who proposed a surrender he is said to have slain with his own hand. Hernando prepared to carry the place by escalade. Ladders were planted against the walls; but no sooner did a Spaniard gain the topmost round than he was hurled to the ground by the strong arm of the Indian warrior. His activity was equal to his strength; and he seemed to be at every point the moment that his presence was needed.

"Hera valiente," says Pedro Pizarro, "y muy animoso, gentil hombre, magnanimo y afable." (Descub. y Conq., MS.) Zarate dismisses him with this brief panegyric:—"Fue gran pérdida en la Tierra, porque era Juan Pizarro mui valiente, i experimentado en las Guerras de los Indios, i bien quisto, i amado de todos." Conq. del Peru, lib. 3, cap. 3.

The Spanish commander was filled with admiration at this display of valor; for he could admire valor even in an enemy. He gave orders that the chief should not be injured, but be taken alive, if possible.²³ This was not easy. At length, numerous ladders having been planted against the tower, the Spaniards scaled it on several quarters at the same time, and, leaping into the place, overpowered the few combatants who still made a show of resistance. But the Inca chieftain was not to be taken; and, finding further resistance ineffectual, he sprang to the edge of the battlements, and, casting away his war-club, wrapped his mantle around him and threw himself headlong from the summit.²⁴ He died like an ancient Roman. He had struck his last stroke for the freedom of his country, and he scorned to survive her dishonor. The Castilian commander left a small force in garrison to secure his conquest, and returned in triumph to his quarters.

Week after week rolled away, and no relief came to the beleaguered Spaniards. They had long since begun to feel the approaches of famine. Fortunately, they were provided with water from the streams which flowed through the city. But, though they had well husbanded their resources, their provisions were exhausted, and they had for

²³ "Y mando hernando pízarro á los Españoles que subian que no matasen á este yndio sino que se lo tomasen á vida, jurando de no matalle si lo avia vivo." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

²⁴ "Visto este orejon que se lo avian ganado y le avian tomado por dos ó tres partes el fuerte, arrojando las armas se tapo la caveça y el rostro con la manta y se arrojó del cubo abajo mas de cien estados, y así se hizo pedazos. Á hernando Pízarro le peso mucho por no tomalle á vida." Ibid., MS.

some time depended on such scanty supplies of grain as they could gather from the ruined magazines and dwellings, mostly consumed by the fire, or from the produce of some successful foray.²⁵ This latter resource was attended with no little difficulty; for every expedition led to a fierce encounter with the enemy, which usually cost the lives of several Spaniards and inflicted a much heavier injury on the Indian allies. Yet it was at least one good result of such loss that it left fewer to provide for. But the whole number of the besieged was so small that any loss greatly increased the difficulties of defence by the remainder.

As months passed away without bringing any tidings of their countrymen, their minds were haunted with still gloomier apprehensions as to their fate. They well knew that the governor would make every effort to rescue them from their desperate condition. That he had not succeeded in this made it probable that his own situation was no better than theirs, or perhaps he and his followers had already fallen victims to the fury of the insurgents. It was a dismal thought that they alone were left in the land, far from all human succor, to perish miserably by the hands of the barbarians among the mountains.

Yet the actual state of things, though gloomy in the extreme, was not quite so desperate as their imaginations had painted it. The insurrection, it is true, had been general throughout the country, at least that portion of it occupied by the Span-

²⁵ Garcilasso, *Com. Real.*, Parte 2, lib. 2, cap. 24.

iards. It had been so well concerted that it broke out almost simultaneously, and the Conquerors, who were living in careless security on their estates, had been massacred to the number of several hundreds. An Indian force had sat down before Xauxa, and a considerable army had occupied the valley of Rimac, and laid siege to Lima. But the country around that capital was of an open, level character, very favorable to the action of cavalry. Pizarro no sooner saw himself menaced by the hostile array than he sent such a force against the Peruvians as speedily put them to flight; and, following up his advantage, he inflicted on them such a severe chastisement that, although they still continued to hover in the distance and cut off his communications with the interior, they did not care to trust themselves on the other side of the Rimac.

The accounts that the Spanish commander now received of the state of the country filled him with the most serious alarm. He was particularly solicitous for the fate of the garrison at Cuzco, and he made repeated efforts to relieve that capital. Four several detachments, amounting to more than four hundred men in all, half of them cavalry, were sent by him at different times, under some of his bravest officers. But none of them reached their place of destination. The wily natives permitted them to march into the interior of the country until they were fairly entangled in the passes of the Cordilleras. They then enveloped them with greatly superior numbers, and, occupying the heights, showered down their fatal

missiles on the heads of the Spaniards, or crushed them under the weight of fragments of rock which they rolled on them from the mountains. In some instances the whole detachment was cut off to a man. In others, a few stragglers only survived to return and tell the bloody tale to their countrymen at Lima.²⁶

Pizarro was now filled with consternation. He had the most dismal forebodings of the fate of the Spaniards dispersed throughout the country, and even doubted the possibility of maintaining his own foothold in it without assistance from abroad. He despatched a vessel to the neighboring colonists at Truxillo, urging them to abandon the place, with all their effects, and to repair to him at Lima. The measure was, fortunately, not adopted. Many of his men were for availing themselves of the vessels which rode at anchor in the port to make their escape from the country at once and take refuge in Panamá. Pizarro would not hearken to so dastardly a counsel, which involved the desertion of the brave men in the interior who still looked to him for protection. He cut off the hopes of these timid spirits by despatching all the vessels then in port on a very different mission. He sent letters by them to the governors of Panamá, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Mexico,

²⁶ Zarate, *Conq. del Peru*, lib. 1, cap. 5.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 5, lib. 8, cap. 5.—Garcilasso, *Com. Real.*, Parte 2, lib. 2, cap. 28.—According to the historian of the Incas, there fell in these expeditions four hundred and seventy Spaniards. Cieza de Leon computes the whole number of Christians who perished in this insurrection at seven hundred, many of them, he adds, under circumstances of great cruelty. (*Cronica*, cap. 82.) The estimate, considering the spread and spirit of the insurrection, does not seem extravagant.

representing the gloomy state of his affairs, and invoking their aid. His epistle to Alvarado, then established at Guatemala, has been preserved. He conjures him by every sentiment of honor and patriotism to come to his assistance, and this before it is too late. Without assistance, the Spaniards can no longer maintain their footing in Peru, and that great empire will be lost to the Castilian crown. He finally engages to share with him such conquests as they may make with their united arms.²⁷ Such concessions to the very man whose absence from the country, but a few months before, Pizarro would have been willing to secure at almost any price, are sufficient evidences of the extremity of his distress. The succors thus earnestly solicited arrived in time, not to quell the Indian insurrection, but to aid him in a struggle quite as formidable with his own countrymen.

It was now August. More than five months had elapsed since the commencement of the siege of Cuzco, yet the Peruvian legions still lay encamped around the city. The siege had been protracted much beyond what was usual in Indian warfare, and showed the resolution of the natives to exterminate the white men. But the Peruvians themselves had for some time been straitened by the want of provisions. It was no easy matter to feed so numerous a host; and the obvious resource of

²⁷ *É crea V. Sa sino somos socorridos se perderá el Cusco, ques la cosa mas señalada é de mas importancia que se puede descubrir, é luego nos perderémos todos; porque somos pocos é tenemos pocas armas, é los Indios estan atrevidos.* Carta de Francisco Pizarro á D. Pedro de Alvarado, desde la Ciudad de los Reyes, 29 de Julio, 1536, MS.

the magazines of grain, so providently prepared by the Incas, did them but little service, since their contents had been most prodigally used, and even dissipated, by the Spaniards, on their first occupation of the country.²⁸ The season for planting had now arrived, and the Inca well knew that if his followers were to neglect it they would be visited by a scourge even more formidable than their invaders. Disbanding the greater part of his forces, therefore, he ordered them to withdraw to their homes, and, after the labors of the field were over, to return and resume the blockade of the capital. The Inca reserved a considerable force to attend on his own person, with which he retired to Tambo, a strongly fortified place south of the valley of Yucay, the favorite residence of his ancestors. He also posted a large body as a corps of observation in the environs of Cuzco, to watch the movements of the enemy and to intercept supplies.

The Spaniards beheld with joy the mighty host which had so long encompassed the city now melting away. They were not slow in profiting by the circumstance, and Hernando Pizarro took advantage of the temporary absence to send out foraging-parties to scour the country and bring back supplies to his famishing soldiers. In this he was so successful that on one occasion no less than two thousand head of cattle—the Peruvian sheep—were swept away from the Indian plantations and brought safely to Cuzco.²⁹ This placed the army

²⁸ Ondegardo, Rel. Prim. y Seg., MS.

²⁹ "Recoximos hasta dos mil cavazas de ganado." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

above all apprehensions on the score of want for the present.

Yet these forays were made with the point of the lance, and many a desperate contest ensued, in which the best blood of the Spanish chivalry was shed. The contests, indeed, were not confined to large bodies of troops, but skirmishes took place between smaller parties, which sometimes took the form of personal combats. Nor were the parties so unequally matched as might have been supposed in these single rencontres; and the Peruvian warrior, with his sling, his bow, and his *lasso*, proved no contemptible antagonist for the mailed horseman, whom he sometimes even ventured to encounter, hand to hand, with his formidable battle-axe. The ground around Cuzco became a battle-field, like the *vega* of Granada, in which Christian and Pagan displayed the characteristics of their peculiar warfare; and many a deed of heroism was performed, which wanted only the song of the minstrel to shed around it a glory like that which rested on the last days of the Moslem of Spain.³⁰

But Hernando Pizarro was not content to act wholly on the defensive; and he meditated a bold stroke by which at once to put an end to the war.

³⁰ Pedro Pizarro recounts several of these deeds of arms, in some of which his own prowess is made quite apparent. One piece of cruelty recorded by him is little to the credit of his commander, Hernando Pizarro, who, he says, after a desperate rencontre, caused the right hands of his prisoners to be struck off, and sent them in this mutilated condition back to their countrymen. (*Descub. y Conq.*, MS.) Such atrocities are not often noticed by the chroniclers; and we may hope they were exceptions to the general policy of the Conquerors in this invasion.

This was the capture of the Inca Manco, whom he hoped to surprise in his quarters at Tambo.

For this service he selected about eighty of his best-mounted cavalry, with a small body of foot, and, making a large détour through the less frequented mountain-defiles, he arrived before Tambo without alarm to the enemy. He found the place more strongly fortified than he had imagined. The palace, or rather fortress, of the Incas stood on a lofty eminence, the steep sides of which, on the quarter where the Spaniards approached, were cut into terraces, defended by strong walls of stone and sunburnt brick.³¹ The place was impregnable on this side. On the opposite, it looked towards the Yucay, and the ground descended by a gradual declivity towards the plain through which rolled its deep but narrow current.³² This was the quarter on which to make the assault.

Crossing the stream without much difficulty, the Spanish commander advanced up the smooth glacis with as little noise as possible. The morning light had hardly broken on the mountains; and Pizarro, as he drew near the outer defences, which, as in the fortress of Cuzco, consisted of a stone parapet of great strength drawn round the enclosure, moved quickly forward, confident that the garrison were still buried in sleep. But thousands of eyes were upon him; and as the Spaniards came within bow-shot, a multitude of dark

³¹ "Tambo tan fortalecido que hera cosa de grima, porquel assiento donde Tambo esta es muy fuerte, de andenes muy altos y de muy gran canterias fortalecidos." Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.

³² "El rio de yucay ques grande por aquella parte va muy angosto y hondo." *Ibid.*, MS.

forms suddenly rose above the rampart, while the Inca, with his lance in land, was seen on horseback in the enclosure, directing the operations of his troops.³³ At the same moment the air was darkened with innumerable missiles, stones, javelins, and arrows, which fell like a hurricane on the troops, and the mountains rang to the wild war-whoop of the enemy. The Spaniards, taken by surprise, and many of them sorely wounded, were staggered; and, though they quickly rallied, and made two attempts to renew the assault, they were at length obliged to fall back, unable to endure the violence of the storm. To add to their confusion, the lower level in their rear was flooded by the waters, which the natives, by opening the sluices, had diverted from the bed of the river, so that their position was no longer tenable.³⁴ A council of war was then held, and it was decided to abandon the attack as desperate, and to retreat in as good order as possible.

The day had been consumed in these ineffectual operations; and Hernando, under cover of the friendly darkness, sent forward his infantry and baggage, taking command of the centre himself, and trusting the rear to his brother Gonzalo. The river was happily re-crossed without accident, although the Indians, now confident in their strength, rushed out of their defences and

³³ "Parecia el Inga à caballo entre su gente, con su lança en la mano." Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 3, lib. 8, cap. 7.

³⁴ "Pues hechos dos ó tres acometimientos á tomar este pueblo tantas vezes nos hizieron bolver dando de manos. Ansi estuvimos todo este dia hasta puesta de sol; los indios sin entendello nos hechavan el rrio en el llno donde estavamos, y aguardar mas perescieramos aqui todos." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

followed up the retreating Spaniards, whom they annoyed with repeated discharges of arrows. More than once they pressed so closely on the fugitives that Gonzalo and his chivalry were compelled to turn and make one of those desperate charges that effectually punished their audacity and stayed the tide of pursuit. Yet the victorious foe still hung on the rear of the discomfited cavaliers, till they had emerged from the mountain-passes and come within sight of the blackened walls of the capital. It was the last triumph of the Inca.³⁵

Among the manuscripts for which I am indebted to the liberality of that illustrious Spanish scholar the lamented Navarrete, the most remarkable, in connection with this history, is the work of Pedro Pizarro; *Relaciones del Descubrimiento y Conquista de los Reynos del Peru*. But a single copy of this important document appears to have been preserved, the existence of which was but little known till it came into the hands of Señor de Navarrete; though it did not escape the indefatigable researches of Herrera, as is evident from the mention of several incidents, some of them having personal relation to Pedro Pizarro himself, which the historian of the Indies could have derived through no other channel. The manuscript has lately been given to the public as part of the inestimable collection of historical documents now in process of publication at Madrid, under auspices which, we may trust, will insure its success. As the printed work did not reach me till my present labors were far advanced, I have preferred to rely on the manuscript copy for the brief remainder of my narrative, as I had been compelled to do for the previous portion of it.

Nothing, that I am aware of, is known respecting the author but what is to be gleaned from incidental notices of himself in his own history. He was born at Toledo in Estremadura, the fruitful province of adventurers to the New World, whence the family of Francisco Pizarro, to which Pedro was allied, also emigrated. When that chief came over to undertake the conquest of Peru, after receiving his commission from the emperor in 1539, Pedro Pizarro, then only fifteen years of age, accompanied him in quality of page.

³⁵ Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 5, lib. 8, cap. 7.

For three years he remained attached to the household of his commander, and afterwards continued to follow his banner as a soldier of fortune. He was present at most of the memorable events of the Conquest, and seems to have possessed in a great degree the confidence of his leader, who employed him on some difficult missions, in which he displayed coolness and gallantry. It is true, we must take the author's own word for all this. But he tells his exploits with an air of honesty and without any extraordinary effort to set them off in undue relief. He speaks of himself in the third person, and, as his manuscript was not intended solely for posterity, he would hardly have ventured on great misrepresentation, where fraud could so easily have been exposed.

After the Conquest, our author still remained attached to the fortunes of his commander, and stood by him through all the troubles which ensued; and on the assassination of that chief he withdrew to Arequipa to enjoy in quiet the *repartimiento* of lands and Indians which had been bestowed on him as the recompense of his services. He was there on the breaking out of the great rebellion under Gonzalo Pizarro. But he was true to his allegiance, and chose rather, as he tells us, to be false to his name and his lineage than to his loyalty. Gonzalo, in retaliation, seized his estates, and would have proceeded to still further extremities against him, when Pedro Pizarro had fallen into his hands at Lima, but for the interposition of his lieutenant, the famous Francisco de Carbajal, to whom the chronicler had once the good fortune to render an important service. This Carbajal requited by sparing his life on two occasions,—but on the second coolly remarked, "No man has a right to a brace of lives; and if you fall into my hands a third time, God only can grant you another." Happily, Pizarro did not find occasion to put this menace to the test. After the pacification of the country, he again retired to Arequipa; but, from the querulous tone of his remarks, it would seem he was not fully reinstated in the possessions he had sacrificed by his loyal devotion to the government. The last we hear of him is in 1571, the date which he assigns as that of the completion of his history.

Pedro Pizarro's narrative covers the whole ground of the Conquest, from the date of the first expedition that sallied out from Panamá to the troubles that ensued on the departure of President Gasca. The first part of the work was gathered from the testimony of others, and, of course, cannot claim the distinction of rising to the highest class of evidence. But all that follows the return of Francisco Pizarro from Castile, all, in short, which constitutes the conquest of the country, may be said to be reported on his own observation as an eye-witness and an actor. This gives to his narrative a value to which it could have no pretensions on the score of its literary execution. Pizarro was a soldier, with as little education, probably, as usually falls to those who have been trained from youth in this rough school,

—the most unpropitious in the world to both mental and moral progress. He had the good sense, moreover, not to aspire to an excellence which he could not reach. There is no ambition of fine writing in his chronicle; there are none of those affectations of ornament which only make more glaring the beggarly condition of him who assumes them. His object was simply to tell the story of the Conquest, as he had seen it. He was to deal with facts, not with words, which he wisely left to those who came into the field after the laborers had quitted it, to garner up what they could at second hand.

Pizarro's situation may be thought to have necessarily exposed him to party influences and thus given an undue bias to his narrative. It is not difficult, indeed, to determine under whose banner he had enlisted. He writes like a partisan, and yet like an honest one, who is no further warped from a correct judgment of passing affairs than must necessarily come from preconceived opinions. There is no management to work a conviction in his reader on this side or the other, still less any obvious perversion of fact. He evidently believes what he says, and this is the great point to be desired. We can make allowance for the natural influences of his position. Were he more impartial than this, the critic of the present day, by making allowance for a greater amount of prejudice and partiality, might only be led into error.

Pizarro is not only independent, but occasionally caustic in his condemnation of those under whom he acted. This is particularly the case where their measures bear too unfavorably on his own interests, or those of the army. As to the unfortunate natives, he no more regards their sufferings than the Jews of old did those of the Philistines, whom they considered as delivered up to their swords, and whose lands they regarded as their lawful heritage. There is no mercy shown by the hard Conqueror in his treatment of the infidel.

Pizarro was the representative of the age in which he lived. Yet it is too much to cast such obloquy on the age. He represented more truly the spirit of the fierce warriors who overturned the dynasty of the Incas. He was not merely a crusader, fighting to extend the empire of the Cross over the darkened heathen. Gold was his great object,—the estimate by which he judged of the value of the Conquest, the recompense that he asked for a life of toil and danger. It was with these golden visions, far more than with visions of glory, above all, of celestial glory, that the Peruvian adventurer fed his gross and worldly imagination. Pizarro did not rise above his caste. Neither did he rise above it in a mental view, any more than in a moral. His history displays no great penetration, or vigor and comprehension of thought. It is the work of a soldier, telling simply his tale of blood. Its value is that it is told by him who acted it. And this, to the modern compiler, renders it of higher worth than far abler productions at second hand. It is the rude ore, which, sub-

mitted to the regular process of purification and refinement, may receive the current stamp that fits it for general circulation.

Another authority, to whom I have occasionally referred, and whose writings still slumber in manuscript, is the Licentiate Hernando Montesinos. He is in every respect the opposite of the military chronicler who has just come under our notice. He flourished about a century after the Conquest. Of course the value of his writings as an authority for historical facts must depend on his superior opportunities for consulting original documents. For this his advantages were great. He was twice sent in an official capacity to Peru, which required him to visit the different parts of the country. These two missions occupied fifteen years; so that, while his position gave him access to the colonial archives and literary repositories, he was enabled to verify his researches, to some extent, by actual observation of the country.

The result was his two historical works, *Memorias antiguas historiales del Peru*, and his *Annales*, sometimes cited in these pages. The former is taken up with the early history of the country,—very early, it must be admitted, since it goes back to the deluge. The first part of this treatise is chiefly occupied with an argument to show the identity of Peru with the golden Ophir of Solomon's time! This hypothesis, by no means original with the author, may give no unfair notion of the character of his mind. In the progress of his work he follows down the line of Inca princes, whose exploits, and names even, by no means coincide with Garcilasso's catalogue,—a circumstance, however, far from establishing their inaccuracy. But one will have little doubt that the writer merits this reproach, after reading the absurd legends told in a grave tone of reliance by Montesinos, who shared largely in the credulity and the love of the marvellous which belong to an earlier and less enlightened age.

These same traits are visible in his Annals, which are devoted exclusively to the Conquest. Here, indeed, the author, after his cloudy flight, has descended on firm ground, where gross violations of truth, or at least of probability, are not to be expected. But any one who has occasion to compare his narrative with that of contemporary writers will find frequent cause to distrust it. Yet Montesinos has one merit. In his extensive researches, he became acquainted with original instruments, which he has occasionally transferred to his own pages, and which it would now be difficult to meet with elsewhere.

His writings have been commended by some of his learned countrymen, as showing diligent research and information. My own experience would not assign them a high rank as historical vouchers. They seem to me entitled to little praise, either for the accuracy of their statements or the sagacity of their reflections. The spirit of cold indifference which they manifest to the sufferings of the natives is an odious feature, for which there is less apology in a writer of the

seventeenth century than in one of the primitive Conquerors, whose passions had been inflamed by long-protracted hostility. M. Ternaux-Compans has translated the *Memorias antiguas* with his usual elegance and precision, for his collection of original documents relating to the New World. He speaks in the Preface of doing the same kind office to the *Annales* at a future time. I am not aware that he has done this; and I cannot but think that the excellent translator may find a better subject for his labors in some of the rich collection of the Muñoz manuscripts in his possession.

BOOK IV

CIVIL WARS OF THE CONQUERORS

CHAPTER I

ALMAGRO'S MARCH TO CHILI—SUFFERINGS OF THE
TROOPS — HE RETURNS AND SEIZES CUZCO —
ACTION OF ABANCAY — GASPARE DE ESPINOSA —
ALMAGRO LEAVES CUZCO—NEGOTIATIONS WITH
PIZARRO

1535-1537

WHILE the events recorded in the preceding chapter were passing, the Marshal Almagro was engaged in his memorable expedition to Chili. He had set out, as we have seen, with only part of his forces, leaving his lieutenant to follow him with the remainder. During the first part of the way he profited by the great military road of the Incas, which stretched across the table-land far towards the south. But as he drew near to Chili the Spanish commander became entangled in the defiles of the mountains, where no vestige of a road was to be discerned. Here his progress was impeded by all the obstacles which belong to the wild scenery of the Cordilleras: deep and ragged ravines, round whose sides a slender sheep-path wound up to a dizzy height over the precipices below; rivers rushing in fury down the slopes of the mountains and throwing themselves in stupendous cataracts into the yawning abyss; dark forests of pine that seemed to have no end, and then again long reaches of desolate table-land,

without so much as bush or shrub to shelter the shivering traveller from the blast that swept down from the frozen summits of the sierra.

The cold was so intense that many lost the nails of their fingers, their fingers themselves, and sometimes their limbs. Others were blinded by the dazzling waste of snow, reflecting the rays of a sun made intolerably brilliant in the thin atmosphere of these elevated regions. Hunger came, as usual, in the train of woes; for in these dismal solitudes no vegetation that would suffice for the food of man was visible, and no living thing, except only the great bird of the Andes hovering over their heads in expectation of his banquet. This was too frequently afforded by the number of wretched Indians who, unable, from the scantiness of their clothing, to encounter the severity of the climate, perished by the way. Such was the pressure of hunger that the miserable survivors fed on the dead bodies of their countrymen, and the Spaniards forced a similar sustenance from the carcasses of their horses, literally frozen to death in the mountain-passes.¹ Such were the terrible penalties which Nature imposed on those who rashly intruded on these her solitary and most savage haunts.

Yet their own sufferings do not seem to have touched the hearts of the Spaniards with any feeling of compassion for the weaker natives. Their path was everywhere marked by burnt and desolated hamlets, the inhabitants of which were com-

¹ Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 5, lib. 10, cap. 1-3.—Oviedo, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 9, cap. 4.—Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.

pelled to do them service as beasts of burden. They were chained together in gangs of ten or twelve, and no infirmity or feebleness of body excused the unfortunate captive from his full share of the common toil, till he sometimes dropped dead, in his very chains, from mere exhaustion!² Alvarado's company are accused of having been more cruel than Pizarro's; and many of Almagro's men, it may be remembered, were recruited from that source. The commander looked with displeasure, it is said, on these enormities, and did what he could to repress them. Yet he did not set a good example in his own conduct, if it be true that he caused no less than thirty Indian chiefs to be burnt alive for the massacre of three of his followers!³ The heart sickens at the recital of such atrocities perpe-

² Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.—The writer must have made one on this expedition, as he speaks from personal observation. The poor natives had at least one friend in the Christian camp. "I si en el Real havia algun Español que era buen rancheador i cruel i matava muchos Indios tenianle por buen hombre i en grand reputacion i el que era inclinado á hacer bien i á hacer buenos tratamientos á los naturales i los favorecia no era tenido en tan buena estima, *he apuntado esto que vi con mis ojos i en que por mis pecados anduve* porque entiendan los que esto leyeren que de la manera que aqui digo i con mayores crueldades harto se hizo esta jornada i descubrimiento de Chile."

³ "I para castigarlos por la muerte destos tres Españoles juntolos en un aposento donde estava aposentado i mandó cavalgar la jente de cavallo i la de apie que guardasen las puertas i todos estuviesen apercividos i los prendio i en conclusion hiso quemar mas de 30 señores vivos atados cada uno á su palo." (Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.) Oviedo, who always shows the hard feeling of the colonist, excuses this on the old plea of necessity,—*fue necesario este castigo*,—and adds that after this a Spaniard might send a messenger from one end of the country to the other, without fear of injury. Hist. de las Indias, MS., Parte 3, lib. 9, cap. 4.

trated on an unoffending people, or, at least, guilty of no other crime than that of defending their own soil too well.

There is something in the possession of superior strength most dangerous, in a moral view, to its possessor. Brought in contact with semi-civilized man, the European, with his endowments and effective force so immeasurably superior, holds him as little higher than the brute, and as born equally for his service. He feels that he has a natural right, as it were, to his obedience, and that this obedience is to be measured, not by the powers of the barbarian, but by the will of his conqueror. Resistance becomes a crime to be washed out only in the blood of the victim. The tale of such atrocities is not confined to the Spaniard. Wherever the civilized man and the savage have come in contact, in the East or in the West, the story has been too often written in blood.

From the wild chaos of mountain-scenery the Spaniards emerged on the green vale of Coquimbo, about the thirtieth degree of south latitude. Here they halted, to refresh themselves in its abundant plains, after their unexampled sufferings and fatigues. Meanwhile Almagro despatched an officer with a strong party in advance, to ascertain the character of the country towards the south. Not long after, he was cheered by the arrival of the remainder of his forces under his lieutenant Rodrigo de Orgoñez. This was a remarkable person, intimately connected with the subsequent fortunes of Almagro.

He was a native of Oropesa, had been trained

in the Italian wars, and held the rank of ensign in the army of the Constable of Bourbon at the famous sack of Rome. It was a good school in which to learn his iron trade and to steel the heart against any too ready sensibility to human suffering. Orgoñez was an excellent soldier,—true to his commander, prompt, fearless, and unflinching in the execution of his orders. His services attracted the notice of the crown, and shortly after this period he was raised to the rank of Marshal of New Toledo. Yet it may be doubted whether his character did not qualify him for an executive and subordinate station, rather than for one of higher responsibility.

Almagro received also the royal warrant conferring on him his new powers and territorial jurisdiction. The instrument had been detained by the Pizarros to the very last moment. His troops, long since disgusted with their toilsome and unprofitable march, were now clamorous to return. Cuzco, they said, undoubtedly fell within the limits of his government, and it was better to take possession of its comfortable quarters than to wander like outcasts in this dreary wilderness. They reminded their commander that thus only could he provide for the interests of his son Diego. This was an illegitimate son of Almagro, on whom his father doted with extravagant fondness, justified more than usual by the promising character of the youth.

After an absence of about two months, the officer sent on the exploring expedition returned, bringing unpromising accounts of the southern

regions of Chili. The only land of promise for the Castilian was one that teemed with gold.⁴ He had penetrated to the distance of a hundred leagues, to the limits, probably, of the conquests of the Incas on the river Maule.⁵ The Spaniards had fortunately stopped short of the land of Arauco, where the blood of their countrymen was soon after to be poured out like water, and which still maintains a proud independence amidst the general humiliation of the Indian races around it.

Almagro now yielded, with little reluctance, to the renewed importunities of the soldiers, and turned his face towards the north. It is unnecessary to follow his march in detail. Disheartened by the difficulties of the mountain-passage, he took the road along the coast, which led him across the great desert of Atacama. In crossing this dreary waste, which stretches for nearly a hundred leagues to the northern borders of Chili, with hardly a green spot in its expanse to relieve the fainting traveller, Almagro and his men experienced as great sufferings, though not of the same kind, as those which they had encountered in the passes of the Cordilleras. Indeed, the captain would not easily be found at this day who would venture to lead his army across this dreary region. But the Spaniard of the sixteenth century had a

⁴ It is the language of a Spaniard: "i como no le parecia bien la tierra por no ser quajada de oro." Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.

⁵ According to Oviedo, a hundred and fifty leagues, and very near, as they told him, to the end of the world: *cerca del fin del mundo*. (Hist. de las Indias, MS., Parte 3, lib. 9, cap. 5.) One must not expect to meet with very accurate notions of geography in the rude soldiers of America.

strength of limb and a buoyancy of spirit which raised him to a contempt of obstacles almost justifying the boast of the historian that "he contended indifferently at the same time with man, with the elements, and with famine!"⁶

After traversing the terrible desert, Almagro reached the ancient town of Arequipa, about sixty leagues from Cuzco. Here he learned with astonishment the insurrection of the Peruvians, and, further, that the young Inca Manco still lay with a formidable force at no great distance from the capital. He had once been on friendly terms with the Peruvian prince, and he now resolved, before proceeding farther, to send an embassy to his camp and arrange an interview with him in the neighborhood of Cuzco.

Almagro's emissaries were well received by the Inca, who alleged his grounds of complaint against the Pizarros, and named the vale of Yucay as the place where he would confer with the marshal. The Spanish commander accordingly resumed his march, and, taking one-half of his force, whose whole number fell somewhat short of five hundred men, he repaired in person to the place of rendezvous; while the remainder of his army established their quarters at Urcos, about six leagues from the capital.⁷

The Spaniards in Cuzco, startled by the appearance of this fresh body of troops in their neighborhood, doubted, when they learned the quarter

⁶ "Peleano en un tiempo con los Enemigos, con los Elementos, i con la Hambre." Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 8, lib. 10, cap. 2.

⁷ Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—*Conq. i Pob. del Piru*, MS.—Oviedo, *His. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 9, cap. 7.

whence they came, whether it betided them good or evil. Hernando Pizarro marched out of the city with a small force, and, drawing near to Urcos, heard with no little uneasiness of Almagro's purpose to insist on his pretensions to Cuzco. Though much inferior in strength to his rival, he determined to resist him.

Meanwhile, the Peruvians, who had witnessed the conference between the soldiers of the opposite camps, suspected some secret understanding between the parties, which would compromise the safety of the Inca. They communicated their distrust to Manco, and the latter, adopting the same sentiments, or perhaps from the first meditating a surprise of the Spaniards, suddenly fell upon the latter in the valley of Yucay with a body of fifteen thousand men. But the veterans of Chili were too familiar with Indian tactics to be taken by surprise; and, though a sharp engagement ensued, which lasted more than an hour, in which Orgoñez had a horse killed under him, the natives were finally driven back with great slaughter, and the Inca was so far crippled by the blow that he was not likely for the present to give further molestation.⁹

Almagro, now joining the division left at Urcos, saw no further impediment to his operations on Cuzco. He sent at once an embassy to the municipality of the place, requiring the recognition of him as its lawful governor, and presenting at the same time a copy of his credentials from the crown. But the question of jurisdiction was

⁹ Zarate, *Conq. del Peru*, lib. 3, cap. 4.—*Conq. l Pob. del Piru*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 21.

not one easy to be settled, depending as it did on a knowledge of the true parallels of latitude, not very likely to be possessed by the rude followers of Pizarro. The royal grant had placed under his jurisdiction all the country extending two hundred and seventy leagues south of the river of Santiago, situated one degree and twenty minutes north of the equator. Two hundred and seventy leagues on the meridian, by our measurement, would fall more than a degree short of Cuzco, and, indeed, would barely include the city of Lima itself. But the Spanish leagues, of only seventeen and a half to a degree,⁹ would remove the southern boundary to nearly half a degree beyond the capital of the Incas, which would thus fall within the jurisdiction of Pizarro.¹⁰ Yet the division-line ran so close to the disputed ground that the true result might reasonably be doubted, where no careful scientific observations had been made to obtain it; and each party was prompt to assert, as always happens in such cases, that its own claim was clear and unquestionable.¹¹

⁹ "Contando dies i siete leguas i media por grado." Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 6, lib. 3, cap. 8.

¹⁰ The government had endeavored early to provide against any dispute in regard to the limits of the respective jurisdictions. The language of the original grants gave room to some misunderstanding; and, as early as 1536, Fray Jom s de Berlanga, Bishop of Tierra Firme, had been sent to Lima with full powers to determine the question of boundary, by fixing the latitude of the river of Santiago and measuring two hundred and seventy leagues south on the meridian. But Pizarro, having engaged Almagro in his Chili expedition, did not care to revive the question, and the bishop returned, *re infecto*, to his diocese, with strong feelings of disgust towards the governor. Ibid., dec. 6, lib. 3, cap. 1.

¹¹ "All say," says Oviedo, in a letter to the emperor, "that Cusco falls within the territory of Almagro." Oviedo was, probably, the

Thus summoned by Almagro, the authorities of Cuzco, unwilling to give umbrage to either of the contending chiefs, decided that they must wait until they could take counsel—which they promised to do at once—with certain pilots better instructed than themselves in the position of the Santiago. Meanwhile, a truce was arranged between the parties, both solemnly engaging to abstain from hostile measures and to remain quiet in their present quarters.

The weather now set in cold and rainy. Almagro's soldiers, greatly discontented with their position, flooded as it was by the waters, were quick to discover that Hernando Pizarro was busily employed in strengthening himself in the city, contrary to agreement. They also learned with dismay that a large body of men, sent by the governor from Lima, under command of Alonso de Alvarado, was on the march to relieve Cuzco. They exclaimed that they were betrayed, and that the truce had been only an artifice to secure their inactivity until the arrival of the expected succors. In this state of excitement, it was not very difficult to persuade their commander—too ready to surrender his own judgment to the rash advisers around him—to violate the treaty and take possession of the capital.¹²

Under cover of a dark and stormy night (April

best-informed man in the colonies. Yet this was an error. *Carta desde Sto. Domingo, MS., 25 de Oct. 1639.*

¹² According to Zarate, Almagro, on entering the capital, found no appearance of the designs imputed to Hernando, and exclaimed that "he had been deceived." (*Conq. del Peru*, lib. 3, cap. 4.) He was probably easy of faith in the matter.

8th, 1537), he entered the place without opposition, made himself master of the principal church, established strong parties of cavalry at the head of the great avenues to prevent surprise, and detached Orgoñez with a body of infantry to force the dwelling of Hernando Pizarro. That captain was lodged with his brother Gonzalo in one of the large halls built by the Incas for public diversions, with immense doors of entrance that opened on the *plaza*. It was garrisoned by about twenty soldiers, who, as the gates were burst open, stood stoutly to the defence of their leader. A smart struggle ensued, in which some lives were lost, till at length Orgoñez, provoked by the obstinate resistance, set fire to the combustible roof of the building. It was speedily in flames, and the burning rafters falling on the heads of the inmates, they forced their reluctant leader to an unconditional surrender. Scarcely had the Spaniards left the building, when the whole roof fell in with a tremendous crash.¹³

Almagro was now master of Cuzco. He ordered the Pizarros, with fifteen or twenty of the principal cavaliers, to be secured and placed in confinement. Except so far as required for securing his authority, he does not seem to have been guilty of acts of violence to the inhabitants,¹⁴ and he

¹³ Carta de Espinall, Tesorero de N. Toledo, 15 de Junio, 1539.—Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Indias, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 21.

¹⁴ So it would appear from the general testimony; yet Pedro Pizarro, one of the opposite faction, and among those imprisoned by Almagro, complains that that chief plundered them of their horses and other property. Descub. y Conq., MS.

installed one of Pizarro's most able officers, Gabriel de Rojas, in the government of the city. The municipality, whose eyes were now open to the validity of Almagro's pretensions, made no further scruple to recognize his title to Cuzco.

The marshal's first step was to send a message to Alonso de Alvarado's camp, advising that officer of his occupation of the city, and requiring his obedience to him, as its legitimate master. Alvarado was lying, with a body of five hundred men, horse and foot, at Xauxa, about thirteen leagues from the capital. He had been detached several months previously for the relief of Cuzco, but had, most unaccountably, and, as it proved, most unfortunately for the Peruvian capital, remained at Xauxa, with the alleged motive of protecting that settlement and the surrounding country against the insurgents.¹⁵ He now showed himself loyal to his commander; and when Almagro's ambassadors reached his camp he put them in irons, and sent advice of what had been done to the governor at Lima.

Almagro, offended by the detention of his emissaries, prepared at once to march against Alonso de Alvarado and take more effectual measures to bring him to submission. His lieutenant, Orgoñez, strongly urged him before his departure to strike

¹⁵ Pizarro's secretary Picado had an *encomienda* in that neighborhood, and Alvarado, who was under personal obligations to him, remained there, it is said, at his instigation. (Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 8, lib. 8, cap. 7.) Alvarado was a good officer, and largely trusted, both before and after, by the Pizarros; and we may presume there was some explanation of his conduct, of which we are not possessed.

off the heads of the Pizarros, alleging "that, while they lived, his commander's life would never be safe," and concluding with the Spanish proverb, "Dead men never bite."¹⁶ But the marshal, though he detested Hernando in his heart, shrank from so violent a measure; and, independently of other considerations, he had still an attachment for his old associate, Francisco Pizarro, and was unwilling to sever the ties between them forever. Contenting himself, therefore, with placing his prisoners under strong guard in one of the stone buildings belonging to the House of the Sun, he put himself at the head of his forces and left the capital in quest of Alvarado.

That officer had now taken up a position on the farther side of the Rio de Abancay, where he lay, with the bulk of his little army, in front of a bridge, by which its rapid waters are traversed, while a strong detachment occupied a spot commanding a ford lower down the river. But in this detachment was a cavalier of much consideration in the army, Pedro de Lerma, who, from some pique against his commander, had entered into treasonable correspondence with the opposite party. By his advice, Almagro, on reaching the border of the river, established himself against the bridge in face of Alvarado, as if prepared to force a passage, thus concentrating his adversary's attention on that point. But when darkness had set in he detached a large body under Orgoñez to pass the ford and operate in concert with Lerma. Orgoñez executed this commission

¹⁶ "El muerto no mordía." Ibid., dec. 6, lib. 2, cap. 8.

with his usual promptness. The ford was crossed, though the current ran so swiftly that several of his men were swept away by it and perished in the waters. Their leader received a severe wound himself in the mouth, as he was gaining the opposite bank, but, nothing daunted, he cheered on his men and fell with fury on the enemy. He was speedily joined by Lerma and such of the soldiers as he had gained over, and, unable to distinguish friend from foe, the enemy's confusion was complete.

Meanwhile, Alvarado, roused by the noise of the attack on this quarter, hastened to the support of his officer, when Almagro, seizing the occasion, pushed across the bridge, dispersed the small body left to defend it, and, falling on Alvarado's rear, that general saw himself hemmed in on all sides. The struggle did not last long; and the unfortunate chief, uncertain on whom he could rely, surrendered with all his force,—those only excepted who had already deserted to the enemy. Such was the battle of Abancay, as it was called, from the river on whose banks it was fought, on the twelfth of July, 1537. Never was a victory more complete or achieved with less cost of life; and Almagro marched back, with an array of prisoners scarcely inferior to his own army in number, in triumph to Cuzco.¹⁷

While the events related in the preceding pages were passing, Francisco Pizarro had remained at

¹⁷ Carta de Francisco Pizarro al Obispo de Tierra Firme, MS., 28 de Agosto, 1539.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Indias, MS., ubi supra.—Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.—Carta de Espinall, MS.

Lima, anxiously awaiting the arrival of the reinforcements which he had requested, to enable him to march to the relief of the beleaguered capital of the Incas. His appeal had not been unanswered. Among the rest was a corps of two hundred and fifty men, led by the Licentiate Gaspar de Espinosa, one of the three original associates, it may be remembered, who engaged in the conquest of Peru. He had now left his own residence at Panamá, and came in person, for the first time, it would seem, to revive the drooping fortunes of his confederates. Pizarro received also a vessel laden with provisions, military stores, and other necessary supplies, besides a rich wardrobe for himself, from Cortés, the Conqueror of Mexico, who generously stretched forth his hand to aid his kinsman in the hour of need.¹⁸

With a force amounting to four hundred and fifty men, half of them cavalry, the governor quitted Lima and began his march on the Inca capital. He had not advanced far when he received tidings of the return of Almagro, the seizure of Cuzco, and the imprisonment of his brothers; and before he had time to recover from this astounding intelligence he learned the total defeat and capture of Alvarado. Filled with consternation at these rapid successes of his rival, he now returned in all haste to Lima, which he put in the best posture of defence, to secure it against the hostile movements not unlikely, as he thought,

¹⁸ "Fernando Cortés embió con Rodrigo de Grijalva en vn proprio Navio suyo, desde la Nueva España, muchas Armas, Tiros, Jaecas, Adereços, Vestidos de Seda, l vna Ropa de Martas." Gomara, *Hist. de las Ind.*, cap. 136.

to be directed against that capital itself. Meanwhile, far from indulging in impotent sallies of resentment, or in complaints of his ancient comrade, he only lamented that Almagro should have resorted to these violent measures for the settlement of their dispute, and this less—if we may take his word for it—from personal considerations than from the prejudice it might do to the interests of the crown.¹⁹

But, while busily occupied with warlike preparations, he did not omit to try the effect of negotiation. He sent an embassy to Cuzco, consisting of several persons in whose discretion he placed the greatest confidence, with Espinosa at their head, as the party most interested in an amicable arrangement.

The licentiate, on his arrival, did not find Almagro in as favorable a mood for an accommodation as he could have wished. Elated by his recent successes, he now aspired not only to the possession of Cuzco, but of Lima itself, as falling within the limits of his jurisdiction. It was in vain that Espinosa urged the propriety, by every argument which prudence could suggest, of moderating his demands. His claims upon Cuzco, at least, were not to be shaken, and he declared himself ready to peril his life in maintaining them. The licentiate coolly replied by quoting the pithy Castilian proverb, *El vencido vencido, y el vencedor perdido*: "The vanquished vanquished, and the victor undone."

What influence the temperate arguments of the

¹⁹ Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 6, lib. 2, cap. 7.

licentiate might eventually have had on the heated imagination of the soldier is doubtful; but, unfortunately for the negotiation, it was abruptly terminated by the death of Espinosa himself, which took place most unexpectedly, though, strange to say, in those times, without the imputation of poison.²⁰ He was a great loss to the parties in the existing fermentation of their minds; for he had the weight of character which belongs to wise and moderate counsels, and a deeper interest than any other man in recommending them.

The name of Espinosa is memorable in history from his early connection with the expedition to Peru, which, but for the seasonable though secret application of his funds, could not then have been compassed. He had long been a resident in the Spanish colonies of Tierra Firme and Panamá, where he had served in various capacities, sometimes as a legal functionary presiding in the courts of justice,²¹ and not unfrequently as an efficient leader in the early expeditions of conquest and discovery. In these manifold vocations he acquired a high reputation for probity, intelligence, and courage, and his death at the present crisis was undoubtedly the most unfortunate event that could have befallen the country.

²⁰ Carta de Pizarro al Obispo de Tierra Firme, MS.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 6, lib. 2, cap. 13.—Carta de Espinall, MS.

²¹ He incurred some odium as presiding officer in the trial and condemnation of the unfortunate Vasco Núñez de Balboa. But it must be allowed that he made great efforts to resist the tyrannical proceedings of Pedrarias, and he earnestly recommended the prisoner to mercy. See Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 2, lib. 2, cap. 21, 22.

All attempt at negotiation was now abandoned; and Almagro announced his purpose to descend to the sea-coast, where he could plant a colony and establish a port for himself. This would secure him the means, so essential, of communicating with the mother-country, and here he would resume negotiations for the settlement of his dispute with Pizarro. Before quitting Cuzco, he sent Orgoñez with a strong force against the Inca, not caring to leave the capital exposed in his absence to further annoyance from that quarter.

But the Inca, discouraged by his late discomfiture, and unable, perhaps, to rally in sufficient strength for resistance, abandoned his stronghold at Tambo and retreated across the mountains. He was hotly pursued by Orgoñez over hill and valley, till, deserted by his followers, and with only one of his wives to bear him company, the royal fugitive took shelter in the remote fastnesses of the Andes.²²

Before leaving the capital, Orgoñez again urged his commander to strike off the heads of the Pizarros and then march at once upon Lima. By this decisive step he would bring the war to an issue, and forever secure himself from the insidious machinations of his enemies. But in the mean time a new friend had risen up to the captive brothers. This was Diego de Alvarado, brother of that Pedro who, as mentioned in a preceding chapter, had conducted the unfortunate expedition to Quito. After his brother's

²² Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—*Conq. i Pob. del Piru*, MS.

departure, Diego had attached himself to the fortunes of Almagro, had accompanied him to Chili, and, as he was a cavalier of birth, and possessed of some truly noble qualities, he had gained deserved ascendancy over his commander. Alvarado had frequently visited Hernando Pizarro in his confinement, where, to beguile the tediousness of captivity, he amused himself with gaming,—the passion of the Spaniard. They played deep, and Alvarado lost the enormous sum of eighty thousand gold castellanos. He was prompt in paying the debt, but Hernando Pizarro peremptorily declined to receive the money. By this politic generosity he secured an important advocate in the council of Almagro. It stood him now in good stead. Alvarado represented to the marshal that such a measure as that urged by Orgoñez would not only outrage the feelings of his followers, but would ruin his fortunes by the indignation it must excite at court. When Almagro acquiesced in these views, as in truth most grateful to his own nature, Orgoñez, chagrined at his determination, declared that the day would come when he would repent this mistaken lenity. "A Pizarro," he said, "was never known to forget an injury; and that which they had already received from Almagro was too deep for them to forgive." Prophetic words!

On leaving Cuzco, the marshal gave orders that Gonzalo Pizarro and the other prisoners should be detained in strict custody. Hernando he took with him, closely guarded, on his march. Descending rapidly towards the coast, he reached the pleas-

ant vale of Chincha in the latter part of August. Here he occupied himself with laying the foundations of a town bearing his own name, which might serve as a counterpart to the City of the Kings,—thus bidding defiance, as it were, to his rival on his own borders. While occupied in this manner, he received the unwelcome tidings that Gonzalo Pizarro, Alonso de Alvarado, and the other prisoners, having tampered with their guards, had effected their escape from Cuzco, and he soon after heard of their safe arrival in the camp of Pizarro.

Chafed by this intelligence, the marshal was not soothed by the insinuations of Orgoñez, that it was owing to his ill-advised lenity; and it might have gone hard with Hernando, but that Almagro's attention was diverted by the negotiation which Francisco Pizarro now proposed to resume.

After some correspondence between the parties, it was agreed to submit the arbitration of the dispute to a single individual, Fray Francisco de Bovadilla, a Brother of the Order of Mercy. Though living in Lima, and, as might be supposed, under the influence of Pizarro, he had a reputation for integrity that disposed Almagro to confide the settlement of the question exclusively to him. In this implicit confidence in the friar's impartiality, Orgoñez, of a less sanguine temper than his chief, did not participate.²³

²³ Carta de Gutierrez al Emperador, MS., 10 de Feb. 1539.—Carta de Espinall, MS.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., ubi supra.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 6, lib. 2, cap. 8–14.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 3, cap. 8.—Naharro, Relacion sumaria, MS.

An interview was arranged between the rival chiefs. It took place at Mala, November 13th, 1537; but very different was the deportment of the two commanders towards each other from that which they had exhibited at their former meetings. Almagro, indeed, doffing his bonnet, advanced in his usual open manner to salute his ancient comrade; but Pizarro, hardly condescending to return the salute, haughtily demanded why the marshal had seized upon his city of Cuzco and imprisoned his brothers. This led to a recrimination on the part of his associate. The discussion assumed the tone of an angry altercation, till Almagro, taking a hint—or what he conceived to be such—from an attendant, that some treachery was intended, abruptly quitted the apartment, mounted his horse, and galloped back to his quarters at Chíncha.²⁴ The conference closed, as might have been anticipated from the heated temper of their minds when they began it, by widening the breach it was intended to heal. The friar, now left wholly to himself, after some de-

²⁴ It was said that Gonzalo Pizarro lay in ambush with a strong force in the neighborhood to intercept the marshal, and that the latter was warned of his danger by an honorable cavalier of the opposite party, who repeated a distich of an old ballad,

"Tiempo es el Caballero
Tiempo es de andar de aquí."

(Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 6, lib. 3, cap. 4.) Pedro Pizarro admits the truth of the design imputed to Gonzalo, which he was prevented from putting into execution by the commands of the governor, who, the chronicler, with edifying simplicity, or assurance, informs us, was a man that scrupulously kept his word: "Porque el marques don Francisco Pizarro hera hombre que guardava mucho su palabra." Descub. y Conq., MS.

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liberation, gave his award. He decided that a vessel, with a skilful pilot on board, should be sent to determine the exact latitude of the river of Santiago, the northern boundary of Pizarro's territory, by which all the measurements were to be regulated. In the mean time, Cuzco was to be delivered up by Almagro, and Hernando Pizarro to be set at liberty, on condition of his leaving the country in six weeks for Spain. Both parties were to retire within their undisputed territories, and to abandon all further hostilities.²⁵

This award, as may be supposed, highly satisfactory to Pizarro, was received by Almagro's men with indignation and scorn. They had been sold, they cried, by their general, broken, as he was, by age and infirmities. Their enemies were to occupy Cuzco and its pleasant places, while they were to be turned over to the barren wilderness of Charcas. Little did they dream that under this poor exterior were hidden the rich treasures of Potosí. They denounced the umpire as a hireling of the governor, and murmurs were heard among the troops, stimulated by Orgoñez, demanding the head of Hernando. Never was that cavalier in greater danger. But his good genius in the form of Alvarado again interposed to protect him. His life in captivity was a succession of reprieves.²⁶

²⁵ Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—Carta de Espinall, MS.

²⁶ Espinall, Almagro's treasurer, denounces the friar "as proving himself a very devil" by this award. (Carta al Emperador, MS.) And Oviedo, a more dispassionate judge, quotes, without condemning, a cavalier who told the father that "a sentence so unjust had not been pronounced since the time of Pontius Pilate"! *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., Parte 3, lib. 8, cap. 21.

Yet his brother, the governor, was not disposed to abandon him to his fate. On the contrary, he was now prepared to make every concession to secure his freedom. Concessions, that politic chief well knew, cost little to those who are not concerned to abide by them. After some preliminary negotiation, another award, more equitable, or, at all events, more to the satisfaction of the discontented party, was given. The principal articles of it were, that, until the arrival of some definite instructions on the point from Castile, the city of Cuzco, with its territory, should remain in the hands of Almagro; and that Hernando Pizarro should be set at liberty, on the condition, above stipulated, of leaving the country in six weeks. When the terms of this agreement were communicated to Orgoñez, that officer intimated his opinion of them by passing his finger across his throat, and exclaiming, "What has my fidelity to my commander cost me!"²⁷

Almagro, in order to do greater honor to his prisoner, visited him in person and announced to him that he was from that moment free. He expressed a hope, at the same time, that "all past differences would be buried in oblivion, and that henceforth they should live only in the recollection of their ancient friendship." Hernando replied, with apparent cordiality, that "he desired nothing better for himself." He then swore in the most solemn manner, and pledged his knightly honor,

²⁷ "I tomando la barba con la mano izquierda, con la derecha hizo señal de cortarse la cabeça, diciendo: Orgoñes, Orgoñes, por el amistad de Don Diego de Almagro te han de cortar esta." Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 6, lib. 3, cap. 9.

—the latter, perhaps, a pledge of quite as much weight in his own mind as the former,—that he would faithfully comply with the terms stipulated in the treaty. He was next conducted by the marshal to his quarters, where he partook of a collation in company with the principal officers; several of whom, together with Diego Almagro, the general's son, afterwards escorted the cavalier to his brother's camp, which had been transferred to the neighboring town of Mala. Here the party received a most cordial greeting from the governor, who entertained them with a courtly hospitality, and lavished many attentions, in particular, on the son of his ancient associate. In short, such, on their return, was the account of their reception, that it left no doubt in the mind of Almagro that all was at length amicably settled.²⁸—He did not know Pizarro.

²⁸ Ibid., loc. cit.—Carta de Gutierrez, MS.—Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—Zarate, *Conq. del Peru*, lib. 3, cap. 9.

CHAPTER II

FIRST CIVIL WAR—ALMAGRO RETREATS TO CUZCO
— BATTLE OF LAS SALINAS — CRUELTY OF THE
CONQUERORS — TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF AL-
MAGRO—HIS CHARACTER

1537-1538

SCARCELY had Almagro's officers left the governor's quarters, when the latter, calling his little army together, briefly recapitulated the many wrongs which had been done him by his rival, the seizure of his capital, the imprisonment of his brothers, the assault and defeat of his troops; and he concluded with the declaration—heartily echoed back by his military audience—that the time had now come for revenge. All the while that the negotiations were pending, Pizarro had been busily occupied with military preparations. He had mustered a force considerably larger than that of his rival, drawn from various quarters, but most of them familiar with service. He now declared that, as he was too old to take charge of the campaign himself, he should devolve that duty on his brothers; and he released Hernando from all his engagements to Almagro, as a measure justified by necessity. That cavalier, with graceful pertinacity, intimated his design to abide by the pledges he had given, but at length yielded a reluctant assent to the commands

of his brother, as to a measure imperatively demanded by his duty to the crown.¹

The governor's next step was to advise Almagro that the treaty was at an end. At the same time, he warned him to relinquish his pretensions to Cuzco and withdraw into his own territory, or the responsibility of the consequences would lie on his own head.

After reposing in his false security, Almagro was now fully awakened to the consciousness of the error he had committed; and the warning voice of his lieutenant may have risen to his recollection. The first part of the prediction was fulfilled. And what should prevent the latter from being so? To add to his distress, he was laboring at this time under a grievous malady, the result of early excesses, which shattered his constitution and made him incapable alike of mental and bodily exertion.²

In this forlorn condition, he confided the management of his affairs to Orgoñez, on whose loyalty and courage he knew he might implicitly rely. The first step was to secure the passes of the Guaitara, a chain of hills that hemmed in the valley of Zangalla, where Almagro was at present established. But, by some miscalculation, the passes were not secured in season; and the active enemy, threading the dangerous defiles, effected a passage

¹ Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 6, lib. 3, cap. 10.

² "Cayó enfermo i estuvo malo a punto de muerte de bubas i dolores." (*Carta de Espinall*, MS.) It was a hard penalty, occurring at this crisis, for the sins, perhaps, of earlier days; but

"The gods are just, and of our pleasant vices
Make instruments to scourge us."

across the sierra, where a much inferior force to his own might have taken him at a disadvantage. The fortunes of Almagro were on the wane.

His thoughts were now turned towards Cuzco, and he was anxious to get possession of this capital before the arrival of the enemy. Too feeble to sit on horseback, he was obliged to be carried in a litter; and when he reached the ancient town of Bilcas, not far from Guamanga, his indisposition was so severe that he was compelled to halt and remain there three weeks before resuming his march.

The governors and his brothers, in the mean time, after traversing the pass of Guaitara, descended into the valley of Ica, where Pizarro remained a considerable while, to get his troops into order and complete his preparations for the campaign. Then, taking leave of the army, he returned to Lima, committing the prosecution of the war, as he had before announced, to his younger and more active brothers. Hernando, soon after quitting Ica, kept along the coast as far as Nasca, proposing to penetrate the country by a circuitous route in order to elude the enemy, who might have greatly embarrassed him in some of the passes of the Cordilleras. But, unhappily for himself, this plan of operations, which would have given him such manifest advantage, was not adopted by Almagro; and his adversary, without any other impediment than that arising from the natural difficulties of the march, arrived, in the latter part of April, 1538, in the neighborhood of Cuzco.

Almagro, however, was already in possession of that capital, which he had reached ten days before. A council of war was held by him respecting the course to be pursued. Some were for making good the defence of the city. Almagro would have tried what could be done by negotiation. But Orgoñez bluntly replied, "It is too late: you have liberated Hernando Pizarro, and nothing remains but to fight him." The opinion of Orgoñez finally prevailed, to march out and give the enemy battle on the plains. The marshal, still disabled by illness from taking the command, devolved it on his trusty lieutenant, who, mustering his forces, left the city, and took up a position at Las Salinas, less than a league distant from Cuzco. The place received its name from certain pits or vats in the ground, used for the preparation of salt, that was obtained from a natural spring in the neighborhood. It was an injudicious choice of ground, since its broken character was most unfavorable to the free action of cavalry, in which the strength of Almagro's force consisted. But, although repeatedly urged by the officers to advance into the open country, Orgoñez persisted in his position, as the most favorable for defence, since the front was protected by a marsh, and by a little stream that flowed over the plain. His forces amounted in all to about five hundred, more than half of them horse. His infantry was deficient in fire-arms, the place of which was supplied by the long pike. He had also six small cannon, or falconets, as they were called, which, with his cavalry, formed into two equal divisions, he disposed on the flanks

of his infantry. Thus prepared, he calmly awaited the approach of the enemy. It was not long before the bright arms and banners of the Spaniards under Hernando Pizarro were seen emerging from the mountain-passes. The troops came forward in good order, and like men whose steady step showed that they had been spared in the march and were now fresh for action. They advanced slowly across the plain, and halted on the opposite border of the little stream which covered the front of Orgoñez. Here Hernando, as the sun had set, took up his quarters for the night, proposing to defer the engagement till daylight.³

The rumors of the approaching battle had spread far and wide over the country, and the mountains and rocky heights around were thronged with multitudes of natives, eager to feast their eyes on a spectacle where, whichever side were victorious, the defeat would fall on their enemies.⁴ The Castilian women and children, too, with still deeper anxiety, had thronged out from Cuzco to witness the deadly strife in which brethren and kindred were to contend for mastery.⁵ The whole number of the combatants was insignificant; though not as compared with those usually engaged in these American wars. It is not, however, the number of the players, but the magnitude of the stake, that gives importance

³ Carta de Gutierrez, MS.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 6, lib. 4, cap. 1-5.—Carta de Espinall, MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 3, cap. 10, 11.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 2, cap. 36, 37.

⁴ Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 6, lib. 4, cap. 5, 6.

⁵ Ibid., ubi supra.

and interest to the game; and in this bloody game they were to play for the possession of an empire.

The night passed away in silence, unbroken by the vast assembly which covered the surrounding hill-tops. Nor did the soldiers of the hostile camps, although keeping watch within hearing of one another, and with the same blood flowing in their veins, attempt any communication. So deadly was the hate in their bosoms!⁶

The sun rose bright, as usual in this beautiful climate, on Saturday, the twenty-sixth day of April, 1538.⁷ But long before his beams were on the plain the trumpet of Hernando Pizarro had called his men to arms. His forces amounted in all to about seven hundred. They were drawn from various quarters, the veterans of Pizarro, the followers of Alonso de Alvarado,—many of whom, since their defeat, had found their way back to Lima,—and the late reinforcement from the isles, most of them seasoned by many a toilsome march in the Indian campaigns, and many a hard-fought field. His mounted troops were inferior to those of Almagro; but this was more than compensated by the strength of his infantry,

⁶ "I fue cosa de notar, que se estuvieron toda la Noche, sin que nadie de la vna i otra parte pensase en mover tratos de Paz: tanta era la ira i aborrecimiento de ambas partes." Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 6, lib. 4, cap. 6.

⁷ A church dedicated to Saint Lazarus was afterwards erected on the battle-ground, and the bodies of those slain in the action were interred within its walls. This circumstance leads Garcilasso to suppose that the battle took place on Saturday, the sixth,—the day after the Feast of Saint Lazarus,—and not on the twenty-sixth of April, as commonly reported. *Com. Real.*, Parte 2, lib. 2, cap. 38. See also Montesinos (*Annales*, MS., año 1538),—an indifferent authority for anything.

comprehending a well-trained corps of arquebusiers, sent from St. Domingo, whose weapons were of the improved construction recently introduced from Flanders. They were of a large calibre, and threw double-headed shot, consisting of bullets linked together by an iron chain. It was doubtless a clumsy weapon compared with modern fire-arms, but, in hands accustomed to wield it, proved a destructive instrument.⁸

Hernando Pizarro drew up his men in the same order of battle as that presented by the enemy,—throwing his infantry into the centre, and disposing his horse on the flanks; one corps of which he placed under command of Alonso de Alvarado, and took charge of the other himself. The infantry was headed by his brother Gonzalo, supported by Pedro de Valdivia, the future hero of Arauco, whose disastrous story forms the burden of romance as well as of chronicle.⁹

Mass was said, as if the Spaniards were about to fight what they deemed the good fight of the faith; instead of imbruing their hands in the blood of their countrymen. Hernando Pizarro then made a brief address to his soldiers. He touched on the personal injuries he and his family had received from Almagro; reminded his brother's veterans that Cuzco had been

⁸ Zarate, *Conq. del Peru*, lib. 3, cap. 8.—Garcilasso, *Com. Real*, Parte 2, lib. 2, cap. 36.

⁹ The Araucana of Ercilla may claim the merit, indeed,—if it be a merit,—of combining both romance and history in one. Surely never did the Muse venture on such a specification of details, not merely poetical, but political, geographical, and statistical, as in this celebrated Castilian epic. It is a military journal done into rhyme.

wrested from their possession; called up the glow of shame on the brows of Alvarado's men as he talked of the rout of Abancay; and, pointing out the Inca metropolis that sparkled in the morning sunshine, he told them that there was the prize of the victor. They answered his appeal with acclamations; and, the signal being given, Gonzalo Pizarro, heading his battalion of infantry, led it straight across the river. The water was neither broad nor deep, and the soldiers found no difficulty in gaining a landing, as the enemy's horse was prevented by the marshy ground from approaching the borders. But, as they worked their way across the morass, the heavy guns of Orgoñez played with effect on the leading files, and threw them into disorder. Gonzalo and Valdivia threw themselves into the midst of their followers, menacing some, encouraging others, and at length led them gallantly forward to the firm ground. Here the arquebusiers, detaching themselves from the rest of the infantry, gained a small eminence, whence, in their turn, they opened a galling fire on Orgoñez, scattering his array of spearmen, and sorely annoying the cavalry on the flanks.

Meanwhile, Hernando, forming his two squadrons of horse into one column, crossed under cover of this well-sustained fire, and, reaching the firm ground, rode at once against the enemy. Orgoñez, whose infantry was already much crippled, advancing his horse, formed the two squadrons into one body, like his antagonist, and spurred at full gallop against the assailants. The shock

was terrible; and it was hailed by the swarms of Indian spectators on the surrounding heights with a fiendish yell of triumph, that rose far above the din of battle, till it was lost in distant echoes among the mountains.¹⁰

The struggle was desperate. For it was not that of the white man against the defenceless Indian, but of Spaniard against Spaniard; both parties cheering on their comrades with their battle-cries of "*El Rey y Almagro*," or "*El Rey y Pizarro*,"—while they fought with a hate to which national antipathy was as nothing,—a hate strong in proportion to the strength of the ties that had been rent asunder.

In this bloody field well did Orgoñez do his duty, fighting like one to whom battle was the natural element. Singling out a cavalier whom, from the color of the sobre-vest on his armor, he erroneously supposed to be Hernando Pizarro, he charged him in full career, and overthrew him with his lance. Another he ran through in like manner, and a third he struck down with his sword, as he was prematurely shouting "Victory!" But, while thus doing the deeds of a paladin of romance, he was hit by a chain-shot from an arquebuse, which, penetrating the bars of his visor, grazed his forehead and deprived him for a moment of reason.

¹⁰ Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 6, lib. 4, cap. 6.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Carta de Espinall, MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 3, cap. 11.—Everything relating to this battle—the disposition of the forces, the character of the ground, the mode of attack—is told as variously and confusedly as if it had been a contest between two great armies instead of a handful of men on either side. It would seem that truth is nowhere so difficult to come at as on the battle-field.

Before he had fully recovered, his horse was killed under him, and, though the fallen cavalier succeeded in extricating himself from the stirrups, he was surrounded, and soon overpowered by numbers. Still refusing to deliver up his sword, he asked "if there was no knight to whom he could surrender." One Fuentes, a menial of Pizarro, presenting himself as such, Orgoñez gave his sword into his hands,—and the dastard, drawing his dagger, stabbed his defenceless prisoner to the heart! His head, then struck off, was stuck on a pike, and displayed, a bloody trophy, in the great square of Cuzco, as the head of a traitor.¹¹ Thus perished as loyal a cavalier, as decided in council, and as bold in action, as ever crossed to the shores of America.

The fight had now lasted more than an hour, and the fortune of the day was turning against the followers of Almagro. Orgoñez being down, their confusion increased. The infantry, unable to endure the fire of the arquebusiers, scattered and took refuge behind the stone walls that here and there straggled across the country. Pedro de Lerma, vainly striving to rally the cavalry, spurred his horse against Hernando Pizarro, with whom he had a personal feud. Pizarro did not shrink from the encounter. The lances of both the knights took effect. That of Hernando penetrated the thigh of his opponent, while Lerma's weapon, glancing by his adversary's saddle-bow, struck him with such force above

¹¹ Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, ubi supra.—Zarate, *Conq. del Peru*, ubi supra.

the groin that it pierced the joints of his mail, slightly wounding the cavalier, and forcing his horse back on his haunches. But the press of the fight soon parted the combatants, and, in the turmoil that ensued, Lerma was unhorsed, and left on the field, covered with wounds.¹²

There was no longer order, and scarcely resistance, among the followers of Almagro. They fled, making the best of their way to Cuzco, and happy was the man who obtained quarter when he asked it. Almagro himself, too feeble to sit so long on his horse, reclined on a litter, and from a neighboring eminence surveyed the battle, watching its fluctuations with all the interest of one who felt that honor, fortune, life itself, hung on the issue. With agony not to be described, he had seen his faithful followers, after their hard struggle, borne down by their opponents, till, convinced that all was lost, he succeeded in mounting a mule, and rode off for a temporary refuge to the fortress of Cuzco. Thither he was speedily followed, taken, and brought in triumph to the capital, where, ill as he was, he was thrown into irons and confined in the same apartment of the stone building in which he had imprisoned the Pizarros.

The action lasted not quite two hours. The number of killed, variously stated, was probably

¹² Herrera, Hist. general, ubi supra.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 2, cap. 36.—Hernando Pizarro wore a surcoat of orange-colored velvet over his armor, according to Garcilasso, and before the battle sent notice of it to Orgoñez, that the latter might distinguish him in the *malla*. But a knight in Hernando's suite also wore the same colors, it appears, which led Orgoñez into error.

not less than a hundred and fifty,—one of the combatants calls it two hundred,¹²—a great number, considering the shortness of the time, and the small amount of the forces engaged. No account is given of the wounded. Wounds were the portion of the cavalier. Pedro de Lerma is said to have received seventeen, and yet was taken alive from the field! The loss fell chiefly on the followers of Almagro. But the slaughter was not confined to the heat of the action. Such was the deadly animosity of the parties that several were murdered in cold blood, like Orgoñez, after they had surrendered. Pedro de Lerma himself, while lying on his sick couch in the quarters of a friend in Cuzco, was visited by a soldier, named Samaniego, whom he had once struck for an act of disobedience. This person entered the solitary chamber of the wounded man, took his place by his bedside, and then, upbraiding him for the insult, told him that he had come to wash it away in his blood! Lerma in vain assured him that, when restored to health, he would give him the satisfaction he desired. The miscreant, exclaiming, "Now is the hour!" plunged his sword into his bosom. He lived several years to vaunt this

¹² "Murieron en esta Batalla de las Salinas casi dosientos hombres de vna parte y de otra." (Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.) Most authorities rate the loss at less. The treasurer Espinall, a partisan of Almagro, says they massacred a hundred and fifty after the fight, in cold blood: "Siguleron el alcanse la mas cruelmente que en el mundo se ha visto, porque matavan a los hombres rendidos e desarmados, e por les quitar las armas los mataban si presto no se las quitaban, e trayendo á las ancas de un caballo a un Ruy Dias viniendo rendido e desarmado le mataron, i desta manera mataron mas de ciento è cinquenta hombres." Carta, MS.

atrocious exploit, which he proclaimed as a reparation to his honor. It was some satisfaction to know that the insolence of this vaunt cost him his life.¹⁴ Such anecdotes, revolting as they are, illustrate not merely the spirit of the times, but that peculiarly ferocious spirit which is engendered by civil wars,—the most unforgiving in their character of any but wars of religion.

In the hurry of the flight of one party, and the pursuit by the other, all pouring towards Cuzco, the field of battle had been deserted. But it soon swarmed with plunderers, as the Indians, descending like vultures from the mountains, took possession of the bloody ground, and, despoiling the dead, even to the minutest article of dress, left their corpses naked on the plain.¹⁵ It has been thought strange that the natives should not have availed themselves of their superior numbers to fall on the victors after they had been exhausted by the battle. But the scattered bodies of the Peruvians were without a leader; they were broken in spirits, moreover, by recent reverses, and the Castilians, although weakened for the moment by the struggle, were in far greater strength in Cuzco than they had ever been before.

¹⁴ Carta de Espinall, MS.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 2, cap. 38.—He was hanged for this very crime by the governor of Puerto Viejo, about five years after this time, having outraged the feelings of that officer and the community by the insolent and open manner in which he boasted of his atrocious exploit.

¹⁵ “Los Indios viendo la Batalla fenescida, ellos tambien se dejaron de la suia, iendo los vnos i los otros a desnudar los Españoles muertos, i aun algunos vivos, que por sus heridas no se podian defender, porque como pasó el tropel de la Gente, siguiendo la Victoria, no hubo quien se lo impidiese; de manera que dexaron en cueros a todos los caidos.” Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 3, cap. 11.

Indeed, the number of troops now assembled within its walls, amounting to full thirteen hundred, composed, as they were, of the most discordant materials, gave great uneasiness to Hernando Pizarro. For there were enemies glaring on each other and on him with deadly though smothered rancor, and friends, if not so dangerous, not the less troublesome from their craving and unreasonable demands. He had given the capital up to pillage, and his followers found good booty in the quarters of Almagro's officers. But this did not suffice the more ambitious cavaliers; and they clamorously urged their services, and demanded to be placed in charge of some expedition, nothing doubting that it must prove a golden one. All were in quest of an *El Dorado*. Hernando Pizarro acquiesced as far as possible in these desires, most willing to relieve himself of such importunate creditors. The expeditions, it is true, usually ended in disaster; but the country was explored by them. It was the lottery of adventure; the prizes were few, but they were splendid; and, in the excitement of the game, few Spaniards paused to calculate the chances of success.

Among those who left the capital was Diego, the son of Almagro. Hernando was mindful to send him, with a careful escort, to his brother the governor, desirous to remove him at this crisis from the neighborhood of his father. Meanwhile, the marshal himself was pining away in prison under the combined influence of bodily illness and distress of mind. Before the battle of Salinas, it had been told to Hernando Pizarro that Almagro

was like to die. "Heaven forbid," he exclaimed, "that this should come to pass before he falls into my hands!"¹⁶ Yet the gods seemed now disposed to grant but half of this pious prayer, since his captive seemed about to escape him just as he had come into his power. To console the unfortunate chief, Hernando paid him a visit in his prison, and cheered him with the assurance that he only waited for the governor's arrival to set him at liberty; adding "that if Pizarro did not come soon to the capital he himself would assume the responsibility of releasing him, and would furnish him with a conveyance to his brother's quarters." At the same time, with considerate attention to his comfort, he inquired of the marshal "what mode of conveyance would be best suited to his state of health." After this he continued to send him delicacies from his own table to revive his faded appetite. Almagro, cheered by these kind attentions and by the speedy prospect of freedom, gradually mended in health and spirits.¹⁷

He little dreamed that all this while a process was industriously preparing against him. It had been instituted immediately on his capture, and every one, however humble, who had any cause of complaint against the unfortunate prisoner, was invited to present it. The summons was readily answered; and many an enemy now appeared in the hour of his fallen fortunes, like

¹⁶ "Respondía Hernando Pizarro, que no le haría Dios tan gran mal, que le dexase morir, sin que le huviese á las manos." Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 6, lib. 4, cap. 5.

¹⁷ Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 6, lib. 4, cap. 9.

the base reptiles crawling into light amidst the ruins of some noble edifice; and more than one who had received benefits from his hands were willing to court the favor of his enemy by turning on their benefactor. From these loathsome sources a mass of accusations was collected which spread over four thousand folio pages! Yet Almagro was the idol of his soldiers!¹⁸

Having completed the process (July 8th, 1538), it was not difficult to obtain a verdict against the prisoner. The principal charges on which he was pronounced guilty were those of levying war against the crown and thereby occasioning the death of many of his Majesty's subjects, of entering into conspiracy with the Inca, and, finally, of dispossessing the royal governor of the city of Cuzco. On these charges he was condemned to suffer death as a traitor, by being publicly beheaded in the great square of the city. Who were the judges, or what was the tribunal that condemned him, we are not informed. Indeed, the whole trial was a mockery, if that can be called a trial where the accused himself is not even aware of the accusation.

The sentence was communicated by a friar deputed for the purpose to Almagro. The unhappy man, who all the while had been unconsciously slumbering on the brink of a precipice, could not at first comprehend the nature of his situation.

¹⁸ "De tal manera que los Escrivanos no se davan manos, i ià tenian escritas mas de dos mil hojas." *Ibid.*, dec. 6, lib. 4, cap. 7.—Naharro, *Relacion sumaria*, MS.—*Conq. i Pob. del Piru*, MS.—*Carta de Gutierrez*, MS.—*Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—*Carta de Espinall*, MS.

Recovering from the first shock, "It was impossible," he said, "that such wrong could be done him,—he would not believe it." He then besought Hernando Pizarro to grant him an interview. That cavalier, not unwilling, it would seem, to witness the agony of his captive, consented; and Almagro was so humbled by his misfortunes that he condescended to beg for his life with the most piteous supplications. He reminded Hernando of his ancient relations with his brother, and the good offices he had rendered him and his family in the earlier part of their career. He touched on his acknowledged services to his country, and besought his enemy "to spare his gray hairs, and not to deprive him of the short remnant of an existence from which he had now nothing more to fear." To this the other coldly replied that "he was surprised to see Almagro demean himself in a manner so unbecoming a brave cavalier; that his fate was no worse than had befallen many a soldier before him; and that, since God had given him the grace to be a Christian, he should employ his remaining moments in making up his account with Heaven."¹⁹

But Almagro was not to be silenced. He urged the service he had rendered Hernando himself. "This was a hard requital," he said, "for having spared his life so recently under similar circumstances, and that, too, when he had been urged again and again by those around him to take it

¹⁹ "I que pues tuvo tanta gracia de Dios, que le hizo Christiano, ordenase su Alma, i temiese á Dios." Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 6, lib. 5, cap. 1.

away." And he concluded by menacing his enemy with the vengeance of the emperor, who would never suffer this outrage on one who had rendered such signal services to the crown to go unrequited. It was all in vain; and Hernando abruptly closed the conference by repeating that "his doom was inevitable, and he must prepare to meet it."²⁰

Almagro, finding that no impression was to be made on his iron-hearted conqueror, now seriously addressed himself to the settlement of his affairs. By the terms of the royal grant he was empowered to name his successor. He accordingly devolved his office on his son, appointing Diego de Alvarado, on whose integrity he had great reliance, administrator of the province during his minority. All his property and possessions in Peru, of whatever kind, he devised to his master the emperor, assuring him that a large balance was still due to him in his unsettled accounts with Pizarro. By this politic bequest he hoped to secure the monarch's protection for his son, as well as a strict scrutiny into the affairs of his enemy.

The knowledge of Almagro's sentence produced a deep sensation in the community of

²⁰ Ibid., ubi supra.—The marshal appealed from the sentence of his judges to the crown, supplicating his conqueror (says the treasurer Espinall, in his letter to the emperor) in terms that would have touched the heart of an infidel: "De la qual el dicho Adelantado apelo para ante V. M. i le rogo que por amor de Dios hincado de rodillas le otorgase el apelacion, diciendole que mirase sus canas e vejas e quanto havia servido á V. M. i qº el havia sido el primer escalon para que el i sus hermanos subiesen en el estado en que estavan, i diciendole otras muchas palabras de dolor e compasion que despues de muerto supe que dixo, que á qualquier hombre, aunque fuera infiel, moviera á piedad." Carta, MS.

Cuzco. All were amazed at the presumption with which one armed with a little brief authority ventured to sit in judgment on a person of Almagro's station. There were few who did not call to mind some generous or good-natured act of the unfortunate veteran. Even those who had furnished materials for the accusation, now startled by the tragic result to which it was to lead, were heard to denounce Hernando's conduct as that of a tyrant. Some of the principal cavaliers, and among them Diego de Alvarado, to whose intercession, as we have seen, Hernando Pizarro, when a captive, had owed his own life, waited on that commander and endeavored to dissuade him from so high-handed and atrocious a proceeding. It was in vain. But it had the effect of changing the mode of the execution, which, instead of the public square, was now to take place in prison.²¹

On the day appointed, a strong corps of arquebusiers was drawn up in the *plaza*. The guards were doubled over the houses where dwelt the principal partisans of Almagro. The executioner, attended by a priest, stealthily entered his prison; and the unhappy man, after confessing and receiving the sacrament, submitted without resistance to the *garrote*. Thus obscurely, in the

²¹ Carta de Espinall, MS.—Montesinos, *Annales*, MS., año 1538.—Bishop Valverde, as he assures the emperor, remonstrated with Francisco Pizarro in Lima against allowing violence towards the marshal, urging it on him, as an imperative duty, to go himself at once to Cuzco and set him at liberty. "It was too grave a matter," he rightly added, "to trust to a third party." (Carta al Emperador, MS.) The treasurer Espinall, then in Cuzco, made a similar ineffectual attempt to turn Hernando from his purpose.

gloomy silence of a dungeon, perished the hero of a hundred battles! His corpse was removed to the great square of the city, where, in obedience to the sentence, the head was severed from the body. A herald proclaimed aloud the nature of the crimes for which he had suffered; and his remains, rolled in their bloody shroud, were borne to the house of his friend Hernan Ponce de Leon, and the next day laid with all due solemnity in the church of Our Lady of Mercy. The Pizarros appeared among the principal mourners. It was remarked that their brother had paid similar honors to the memory of Atahualpa.²²

Almagro, at the time of his death, was probably not far from seventy years of age. But this is somewhat uncertain; for Almagro was a foundling, and his early history is lost in obscurity.²³ He had many excellent qualities by nature; and his defects, which were not few, may reasonably be palliated by the circumstances of his situation. For what extenuation is not authorized by the position of a *foundling*,—without parents, or early friends, or teacher to direct him,—his little bark set adrift on the ocean of life, to take its chance among the rude billows and breakers, without one friendly hand stretched forth to steer or to save it! The name of “foundling” compre-

²² Carta de Espinall, MS.—Herrera, Hist. general, loc. cit.—Carta de Valverde al Emperador, MS.—Carta de Gutierrez, MS.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1538. —The date of Almagro's execution is not given,—a strange omission, but of little moment, as that event must have followed soon on the condemnation.

²³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 186.

hends an apology for much, very much, that is wrong in after-life.²⁴

He was a man of strong passions, and not too well used to control them.²⁵ But he was neither vindictive nor habitually cruel. I have mentioned one atrocious outrage which he committed on the natives. But insensibility to the rights of the Indian he shared with many a better-instructed Spaniard. Yet the Indians, after his conviction, bore testimony to his general humanity, by declaring that they had no such friend among the white men.²⁶ Indeed, far from being vindictive, he was placable, and easily yielded to others. The facility with which he yielded, the result of good-natured credulity, made him too often the dupe of the crafty; and it showed, certainly, a want of that self-reliance which belongs to great strength of character. Yet his facility of temper, and the generosity of his nature, made him popular with his followers. No commander was ever more beloved by his soldiers. His generosity was often carried to prodigality. When he entered on the campaign of Chili, he lent a hundred thousand gold ducats to the poorer cava-

²⁴ Montesinos, for want of a better pedigree, says, "He was the son of his own great deeds, and such has been the parentage of many a famous hero!" (*Annales*, MS., año 1538.) It would go hard with a Castilian if he could not make out something like a genealogy,—however shadowy.

²⁵ "Hera vn hombre muy profano, de muy mala lengua, que en enojandose tratava muy mal á todos los que con el andavan aunque fuesen cavalleros." (*Descub. y Conq.*, MS.) It is the portrait drawn by an enemy.

²⁶ "Los Indios lloraban amargamente, diciendo, que de él nunca recibieron mal tratamiento." Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 6, lib. 5, cap. 1.

liers to equip themselves, and afterwards gave them up the debt.²⁷ He was profuse to ostentation. But his extravagance did him no harm among the roving spirits of the camp, with whom prodigality is apt to gain more favor than a strict and well-regulated economy.

He was a good soldier, careful and judicious in his plans, patient and intrepid in their execution. His body was covered with the scars of his battles, till the natural plainness of his person was converted almost into deformity. He must not be judged by his closing campaign, when, depressed by disease, he yielded to the superior genius of his rival, but by his numerous expeditions by land and by water for the conquest of Peru and the remote Chili. Yet it may be doubted whether he possessed those uncommon qualities, either as a warrior or as a man, that, in ordinary circumstances, would have raised him to distinction. He was one of the three, or, to speak more strictly, of the two, associates who had the good fortune and the glory to make one of the most splendid discoveries in the Western World. He shares largely in the credit of this with Pizarro; for when he did not accompany that leader in his perilous expeditions he contributed no less to their success by his exertions in the colonies.

Yet his connection with that chief can hardly

²⁷ If we may credit Herrera, he distributed a hundred and eighty loads of silver and twenty of gold among his followers! "*Mando sacar de su Posada mas de ciento i ochenta cargas de Plata i veinte de Oro, i las repartiò.*" (Dec. 5, lib. 7, cap. 9.) A load was what a man could easily carry. Such a statement taxes our credulity; but it is difficult to set the proper limits to one's credulity in what relates to this land of gold.

be considered a fortunate circumstance in his career. A partnership between individuals for discovery and conquest is not likely to be very scrupulously observed, especially by men more accustomed to govern others than to govern themselves. If causes for discord do not arise before, they will be sure to spring up on division of the spoil. But this association was particularly ill assorted. For the free, sanguine, and confiding temper of Almagro was no match for the cool and crafty policy of Pizarro; and he was invariably circumvented by his companion whenever their respective interests came in collision.

Still, the final ruin of Almagro may be fairly imputed to himself. He made two capital blunders. The first was his appeal to arms by the seizure of Cuzco. The determination of a boundary-line was not to be settled by arms. It was a subject for arbitration; and if arbitrators could not be trusted it should have been referred to the decision of the crown. But, having once appealed to arms, he should not then have resorted to negotiation,—above all, to negotiation with Pizarro. This was his second and greatest error. He had seen enough of Pizarro to know that he was not to be trusted. Almagro did trust him; and he paid for it with his life.*

* [Besides the authors specified by Prescott, another writer throws considerable light upon the events of this time, a partisan of Almagro, Alonso Enriquez de Gusman. The charming *naïveté* with which he explains the motives which ever dominated his conduct, whether good or bad, leads us to place much faith in his general statements. His autobiography has been translated by Markham and published by the Hakluyt Society, "The Life and Acts of Don Alonso Enriquez de Gusman."—M.]

CHAPTER III

PIZARRO REVISITS CUZCO—HERNANDO RETURNS TO
CASTILE—HIS LONG IMPRISONMENT—COMMIS-
SIONER SENT TO PERU—HOSTILITIES WITH THE
INCA — PIZARRO'S ACTIVE ADMINISTRATION —
—GONZALO PIZARRO

1539-1540

ON the departure of his brother in pursuit of Almagro, the Marquis Francisco Pizarro, as we have seen, returned to Lima. There he anxiously awaited the result of the campaign; and on receiving the welcome tidings of the victory of Las Salinas he instantly made preparations for his march to Cuzco. At Xauxa, however, he was long detained by the distracted state of the country, and still longer, as it would seem, by a reluctance to enter the Peruvian capital while the trial of Almagro was pending.

He was met at Xauxa by the marshal's son Diego, who had been sent to the coast by Hernando Pizarro. The young man was filled with the most gloomy apprehensions respecting his father's fate, and he besought the governor not to allow his brother to do him any violence. Pizarro, who received Diego with much apparent kindness, bade him take heart, as no harm should come to his father;¹ adding that he trusted their

¹ "I dixo, que no tuviese ninguna pena, porque no consentiria que su Padre fuese muerto." Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 6, lib. 6, cap. 3.

ancient friendship would soon be renewed. The youth, comforted by these assurances, took his way to Lima, where, by Pizarro's orders, he was received into his house and treated as a son.

The same assurances respecting the marshal's safety were given by the governor to Bishop Valverde, and some of the principal cavaliers who interested themselves in behalf of the prisoner.² Still Pizarro delayed his march to the capital; and when he resumed it he had advanced no farther than the Rio de Abancay when he received tidings of the death of his rival. He appeared greatly shocked by the intelligence. His whole frame was agitated, and he remained for some time with his eyes bent on the ground, showing signs of strong emotion.³

Such is the account given by his friends. A more probable version of the matter represents him to have been perfectly aware of the state of things at Cuzco. When the trial was concluded, it is said, he received a message from Hernando, inquiring what was to be done with the prisoner. He answered in a few words:—"Deal with him so that he shall give us no more trouble."⁴ It

² "Que lo haria asi como lo decia, i que su deseo no era otro, sino ver el Reino en paz; i que en lo que tocaba al Adelantado, perdiese cuidado, que bolevria à tener el antigua amistad con el." Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 6, lib. 4, cap. 9.

³ Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—He even shed many tears, *derramó muchas lagrimas*, according to Herrera, who evidently gives him small credit for them. *Ibid.*, dec. 6, lib. 6, cap. 7.—*Conf.* lib. 5, cap. 1.

⁴ "Respondió, que hiciese de manera, que el Adelantado no, los pusiese en mas alborotos." (*Ibid.*, dec. 6, lib. 6, cap. 7.) "De todo esto," says Espinall, "fue sabidor el dicho Governador Pizarro á lo

is also stated that Hernando afterwards, when laboring under the obloquy caused by Almagro's death, shielded himself under instructions affirmed to have been received from the governor.⁵ It is quite certain that during his long residence at Xauxa the latter was in constant communication with Cuzco, and that had he, as Valverde repeatedly urged him,⁶ quickened his march to that capital, he might easily have prevented the consummation of the tragedy. As commander-in-chief, Almagro's fate was in his hands; and, whatever his own partisans may affirm of his innocence, the impartial judgment of history must hold him equally accountable with Hernando for the death of his associate.

Neither did his subsequent conduct show any remorse for these proceedings. He entered Cuzco, says one who was present there to witness it, amidst the flourish of clarions and trumpets, at the head of his martial cavalcade, and dressed in the rich suit presented him by Cortés, with the proud bearing and joyous mien of a conqueror.⁷ When Diego de Alvarado applied to him for the government of the southern provinces, in the name of the young Almagro, whom his father, as we

que mi juicio i el de otros que en ello quisieron mirar alcanzo." Carta de Espinall, MS.

⁵ Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 6, lib. 5, cap. 1.—Herrera's testimony is little short of that of a contemporary, since it was derived, he tells us, from the correspondence of the Conquerors, and the accounts given him by their own sons. Lib. 6, cap. 7.

⁶ Carta de Valverde al Emperador, MS.

⁷ "En este medio tiempo vino á la dicha cibdad del Cuzco el Gobernador D. Fran^{co} Pizarro, el qual entro con trompetas i chirimias vestido con ropa de martas que fue el luto con que entro." Carta de Espinall, MS.

have seen, had consigned to his protection, Pizarro answered that "the marshal, by his rebellion, had forfeited all claims to the government." And when he was still further urged by the cavalier, he bluntly broke off the conversation by declaring that "his own territory covered all on this side of Flanders" !⁸—intimating, no doubt, by this magnificent vaunt, that he would endure no rival on this side of the water.

In the same spirit, he had recently sent to supersede Benalcazar, the conqueror of Quito, who, he was informed, aspired to an independent government. Pizarro's emissary had orders to send the offending captain to Lima; but Benalcazar, after pushing his victorious career far into the north, had returned to Castile to solicit his guerdon from the emperor.

To the complaints of the injured natives who invoked his protection he showed himself strangely insensible, while the followers of Almagro he treated with undisguised contempt. The estates of the leaders were confiscated, and transferred without ceremony to his own partisans. Hernando had made attempts to conciliate some of the opposite faction by acts of liberality, but they had refused to accept anything from the man whose hands were stained with the blood of their commander.⁹ The governor offered them no

⁸ Carta de Espinall, MS.—"Muy asperamente le respondió el Governador, diciendo, que su Governacion no tenía Termino, i que llegaba hasta Flandes." Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 6, lib. 6, cap. 7.

⁹ "Avia querido hazer amigos de los principales de Chile, y ofreciendoles daría rrepartimientos y no lo avian aceptado ni querido." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

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such encouragement; and many were reduced to such abject poverty that, too proud to expose their wretchedness to the eyes of their conquerors, they withdrew from the city and sought a retreat among the neighboring mountains.¹⁰

For his own brothers he provided by such ample *repartimientos* as excited the murmurs of his adherents. He appointed Gonzalo to the command of a strong force destined to act against the natives of Charcas, a hardy people occupying the territory assigned by the crown to Almagro. Gonzalo met with a sturdy resistance, but, after some severe fighting, succeeded in reducing the province to obedience. He was recompensed, together with Hernando, who aided him in the conquest, by a large grant in the neighborhood of Porco, the productive mines of which had been partially wrought under the Incas. The territory thus situated embraced part of those silver hills of Potosí which have since supplied Europe with such stores of the precious metals. Hernando comprehended the capabilities of the ground, and he began working the mines on a more extensive scale than that hitherto adopted; though it does not appear that any attempt was then made to penetrate the rich crust of Potosí.¹¹ A few years

¹⁰ "Viendolas oy en día, muertos de ambre, fechos pedazos e adeudados, andando por los montes desesperados por no parecer ante gentes, porque no tienen otra cosa que se vestir sino ropa de los Indios, ni dineros con que lo comprar." Carta de Espinall, MS.

¹¹ "Con la quietud," writes Hernando Pizarro to the emperor, "questa tierra agora tiene han descubierto i descubren cada día los vecinos muchas minas ricas de oro i plata, de que los quintos i rentas reales de V. M. cada día se le ofrecen i hacer casa á todo el Mundo." Carta al Emperador, MS., de Puerto Viejo, 6 de Julio, 1539.

more were to elapse before the Spaniards were to bring to light the silver-quarries that lay hidden in the bosom of its mountains.¹²

It was now the great business of Hernando to collect a sufficient quantity of treasure to take with him to Castile. Nearly a year had elapsed since Almagro's death; and it was full time that he should return and present himself at court, where Diego de Alvarado and other friends of the marshal, who had long since left Peru, were industriously maintaining the claims of the younger Almagro, as well as demanding redress for the wrongs done to his father. But Hernando looked confidently to his gold to dispel the accusations against him.

Before his departure, he counselled his brother to beware of the "men of Chili," as Almagro's followers were called,—desperate men, who would stick at nothing, he said, for revenge. He besought the governor not to allow them to consort together in any number within fifty miles of his person: if he did, it would be fatal to him. And he concluded by recommending a strong body-guard; "for I," he added, "shall not be here to watch over you." But the governor laughed at the idle fears, as he termed them, of his brother, bidding the latter take no thought of him, "as

¹² Carta de Carbajal al Emperador, MS., del Cusco, 3 de Nov. 1539.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq. MS.—Montesinos, *Annales*, MS., año 1539.—The story is well known of the manner in which the mines of Potosí were discovered by an Indian, who pulled a bush out of the ground to the fibres of which a quantity of silver globules was attached. The mine was not registered till 1545. The account is given by Acosta, lib. 4, cap. 6.

every hair in the heads of Almagro's followers was a guarantee for his safety." ¹³ He did not know the character of his enemies so well as Hernando.

The latter soon after embarked at Lima, in the summer of 1539. He did not take the route to Panamá, for he had heard that it was the intention of the authorities there to detain him. He made a circuitous passage, therefore, by way of Mexico, landing in the Bay of Tehuantepec, and was making his way across the narrow strip that divides the great oceans, when he was arrested and taken to the capital. But the Viceroy Mendoza did not consider that he had a right to detain him, and he was suffered to embark at Vera Cruz and to proceed on his voyage. Still, he did not deem it safe to trust himself in Spain without further advices. He accordingly put in at one of the Azores, where he remained until he could communicate with home. He had some powerful friends at court, and by them he was encouraged to present himself before the emperor. He took their advice, and, shortly after, reached the Spanish coast in safety.¹⁴

¹³ Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 6, lib. 6, cap. 10.—Zarate, *Conq. del Peru*, lib. 3, cap. 12.—Gomara, *Hist. de las Ind.*, cap. 142.—"No consienta vuestra señoría que se junten diez juntos en cinquenta leguas alrededor de adonde vuestra señoría estuviere, porque si los dexa juntar le an de matar. Si á Vuestra Señoría matan, yo negociare mal y de vuestra señoría no quedara memoria. Estas palabras dixo Hernando Pizarro altas que todos le oymos. Y abraçando al marques se partio y se fue." Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.

¹⁴ Carta de Hernando Pizarro al Emperador, MS.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 6, lib. 6, cap. 10.—Montesinos, *Annales*, MS., año 1539.

The court was at Valladolid; but Hernando, who made his entrance into that city with great pomp and a display of his Indian riches, met with a reception colder than he had anticipated.¹⁵ For this he was mainly indebted to Diego de Alvarado, who was then residing there, and who, as a cavalier of honorable standing and of high connections, had considerable influence. He had formerly, as we have seen, by his timely interposition, more than once saved the life of Hernando; and he had consented to receive a pecuniary obligation from him to a large amount. But all was now forgotten in the recollection of the wrong done to his commander; and, true to the trust reposed in him by that chief in his dying hour, he had come to Spain to vindicate the claims of the young Almagro.

But, although coldly received at first, Hernando's presence, and his own version of the dispute with Almagro, aided by the golden arguments which he dealt with no stinted hand, checked the current of indignation, and the opinion of his judges seemed for a time suspended. Alvarado, a cavalier more accustomed to the prompt and decisive action of a camp than to the tortuous intrigues of a court, chafed at the delay, and challenged Hernando to settle their quarrel by single combat. But his prudent adversary had no desire to leave the issue to such an ordeal; and the affair was speedily terminated by the death of Alvarado himself, which happened five days after

¹⁵ Gomara, *Hist. de las Ind.*, cap. 143.

the challenge. An event so opportune naturally suggested the suspicion of poison.¹⁶

But his accusations had not wholly fallen to the ground; and Hernando Pizarro had carried measures with too high a hand, and too grossly outraged public sentiment, to be permitted to escape. He received no formal sentence, but he was imprisoned in the strong fortress of Medina del Campo, where he was allowed to remain for twenty years, when in 1560, after a generation had nearly passed away, and time had in some measure thrown its softening veil over the past, he was suffered to regain his liberty.¹⁷ But he came forth an aged man, bent down with infirmities and broken in spirit,—an object of pity rather than indignation. Rarely has retributive justice been meted out in fuller measure to offenders so high in authority,—most rarely in Castile.¹⁸

Yet Hernando bore this long imprisonment with an equanimity which, had it been founded on principle, might command our respect. He saw brothers and kindred, all on whom he leaned for support, cut off one after another; his fortune in part confiscated, while he was involved in expensive litigation for the remainder; ¹⁹ his fame

¹⁶ "Pero todo lo atajó la repentina muerte de Diego de Alvarado, que sucedió luego en cinco días, no sin sospecha de veneno." Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 6, lib. 8, cap. 9.

¹⁷ This date is established by Quintana, from a legal process instituted by Hernando's grandson, in vindication of the title of Marquis, in the year 1625.

¹⁸ Naharro, *Relacion sumaria*, MS.—Pizarro y Orellana, *Varones ilustres*, p. 341.—Montesinos, *Annales*, MS., año 1639.—Gomara, *Hist. de las Ind.*, cap. 142.

¹⁹ Caro de Torres gives a royal *cédula* in reference to the working of the silver-mines of Porco, still owned by Hernando Pizarro, in

blighted, his career closed in an untimely hour, himself an exile in the heart of his own country; yet he bore it all with the constancy of a courageous spirit. Though very old when released, he still survived several years, and continued to the extraordinary age of a hundred.²⁰ He lived long enough to see friends, rivals, and foes all called away to their account before him.

Hernando Pizarro was in many respects a remarkable character. He was the eldest of the brothers, to whom he was related only by the father's side, for he was born in wedlock, of honorable parentage on both sides of his house. In his early years he received a good education,—good for the time. He was taken by his father, while quite young, to Italy, and there learned the art of war under the Great Captain. Little is known of his history after his return to Spain; but, when his brother had struck out for himself his brilliant career of discovery in Peru, Hernando consented to take part in his adventures.

He was much deferred to by Francisco, not only

1555; and another document of nearly the same date, noticing his receipt of ten thousand ducats by the fleet from Peru. (*Historia de las Ordenes militares*, Madrid, 1659, p. 144.) Hernando's grandson was created by Philip IV. Marquis of the Conquest, *Marques de la Conquista*, with a liberal pension from government. Pizarro y Orellana, *Varones ilustres*, p. 342, and *Discurso*, p. 72.

²⁰ "Muertos da, Jupiter, annos,"

the greatest boon, in Pizarro y Orellana's opinion, that Heaven can confer! "Díole Dios, por todo, el premio mayor desta vida, pues fue tan larga, que excedio de cien años." (*Varones ilustres*, p. 342.) According to the same somewhat partial authority, Hernando died, as he had lived, in the odor of sanctity! "Viviendo aprender a morir, y saber morir, quando llegó la muerte."

as his elder brother, but from his superior education and his knowledge of affairs. He was ready in his perceptions, fruitful in resources, and possessed of great vigor in action. Though courageous, he was cautious; and his counsels, when not warped by passion, were wise and wary. But he had other qualities, which more than counterbalanced the good resulting from excellent parts and attainments. His ambition and avarice were insatiable. He was supercilious even to his equals; and he had a vindictive temper, which nothing could appease. Thus, instead of aiding his brother in the Conquest, he was the evil genius that blighted his path. He conceived from the first an unwarrantable contempt for Almagro, whom he regarded as his brother's rival, instead of what he then was, the faithful partner of his fortunes. He treated him with personal indignity, and, by his intrigues at court, had the means of doing him sensible injury. He fell into Almagro's hands, and had nearly paid for these wrongs with his life. This was not to be forgiven by Hernando, and he coolly waited for the hour of revenge. Yet the execution of Almagro was a most impolitic act; for an evil passion can rarely be gratified with impunity. Hernando thought to buy off justice with the gold of Peru. He had studied human nature on its weak and wicked side, and he expected to profit by it. Fortunately, he was deceived. He had, indeed, his revenge; but the hour of his revenge was that of his ruin.

The disorderly state of Peru was such as to demand the immediate interposition of the crown.

In the general license that prevailed there, the rights of the Indian and of the Spaniard were equally trampled under foot. Yet the subject was one of great difficulty; for Pizarro's authority was now firmly established over the country, which itself was too remote from Castile to be readily controlled at home. Pizarro, moreover, was a man not easy to be approached, confident in his own strength, jealous of interference, and possessed of a fiery temper, which would kindle into a flame at the least distrust of the government. It would not answer to send out a commission to suspend him from the exercise of his authority until his conduct could be investigated, as was done with Cortés and other great colonial officers, on whose rooted loyalty the crown could confidently rely. Pizarro's loyalty sat, it was feared, too lightly on him to be a powerful restraint on his movements; and there were not wanting those among his reckless followers who in case of extremity would be prompt to urge him to throw off his allegiance altogether and set up an independent government for himself.

Some one was to be sent out, therefore, who should possess in some sort a controlling, or at least concurrent, power with the dangerous chief, while ostensibly he should act only in subordination to him. The person selected for this delicate mission was the Licentiate Vaca de Castro, a member of the Royal Audience of Valladolid. He was a learned judge, a man of integrity and wisdom, and, though not bred to arms, had so much address and such knowledge of character

as would enable him readily to turn the resources of others to his own account.

His commission was guarded in a way which showed the embarrassment of the government. He was to appear before Pizarro in the capacity of a royal judge; to consult with him on the redress of grievances, especially with reference to the unfortunate natives; to concert measures for the prevention of future evils; and, above all, to possess himself faithfully of the condition of the country in all its details, and to transmit intelligence of it to the court of Castile. But in case of Pizarro's death he was to produce his warrant as royal governor, and as such to claim the obedience of the authorities throughout the land. Events showed the wisdom of providing for this latter contingency.²¹

The licentiate, thus commissioned, quitted his quiet residence at Valladolid, embarked at Seville in the autumn of 1540, and, after a tedious voyage across the Atlantic, he traversed the Isthmus, and, encountering a succession of tempests on the Pacific that had nearly sent his frail bark to the bottom, put in with her, a mere wreck, at the northerly port of Buena Ventura.²² The affairs of the country were in a state to require his presence.

²¹ Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.* MS.—Gomara, *Hist. de las Ind.*, cap. 146.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 6, lib. 8, cap. 9.—Montesinos, *Annales*, MS., año 1540.—This latter writer sees nothing short of a "divine mystery" in this forecast of government, so singularly sustained by events: "prevencion del gran espíritu del Rey, no sin misterio." *Ubi supra*.

²² Or, as the port should rather be called, *Mala Ventura*, as Pedro Pizarro punningly remarks: "Tuvo tan mal viaje en la mar que

The civil war which had lately distracted the land had left it in so unsettled a state that the agitation continued long after the immediate cause had ceased. This was especially the case among the natives. In the violent transfer of *repartimientos*, the poor Indian hardly knew to whom he was to look as his master. The fierce struggles between the rival chieftains left him equally in doubt whom he was to regard as the rulers of the land. As to the authority of a common sovereign, across the waters, paramount over all, he held that in still greater distrust; for what was the authority which could not command the obedience even of its own vassals? ²⁸ The Inca Manco was not slow in taking advantage of this state of feeling. He left his obscure fastnesses in the depths of the Andes, and established himself with a strong body of followers in the mountain-country lying between Cuzco and the coast. From this retreat he made descents on the neighboring plantations, destroying the houses, sweeping off the cattle, and massacring the people. He fell on travellers as they were journeying singly or in caravans from the coast, and put them to death—it is told by his enemies—with cruel tortures. Single detachments were sent against him from time to time, but without effect. Some he eluded,

vbo de desembarcar en la Buena Ventura, aunque yo la llamo Mala." Descub. y Conq., MS.

²⁸ "Piensan que les mienten los que aca les dizen que al un gran Señor en Castilla, viendo que aca pelean unos capitanes contra otros; y piensan que no al otro Rei sino aquel que vence al otro porque aca entrellos no se acostumbra que un capitan pelee contra otro, estando entrambos debaxo de un Señor." Carta de Valverde al Emperador, MS.

others he defeated, and on one occasion cut off a party of thirty troopers, to a man.²⁴

At length Pizarro found it necessary to send a considerable force under his brother Gonzalo against the Inca. The hardy Indian encountered his enemy several times in the rough passes of the Cordilleras. He was usually beaten, and sometimes with heavy loss, which he repaired with astonishing facility; for he always contrived to make his escape, and so true were his followers that, in defiance of pursuit and ambush, he found a safe shelter in the secret haunts of the sierra.

Thus baffled, Pizarro determined to try the effect of pacific overtures. He sent to the Inca, both in his own name and in that of the Bishop of Cuzco, whom the Peruvian prince held in reverence, to invite him to enter into negotiation.²⁵ Manco acquiesced, and indicated, as he had formerly done with Almagro, the valley of Yucay

²⁴ Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 6, lib. 6, cap. 7.—Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—Carta de Espinall, MS.—Carta de Valverde al Emperador, MS.

²⁵ The Inca declined the interview with the bishop, on the ground that he had seen him pay obeisance by taking off his cap to Pizarro. It proved his inferiority to the latter, he said, and that he could never protect him against the governor. The passage in which this is related is curious. "Preguntando á indios del inca que anda alsado que si sabe el inca que yo soi venido á la tierra en nombre de S. M. para defendellos, dixo que mui bien lo sabia; y preguntado que porque no se benia á mi de paz, dixo el indio que desia el inca que porque yo quando vine hize la mocha al gobernador, que quiere desir que le quité el bonete, que no queria venir á mi de paz; que él no havia de venir de paz sino á uno que viniese de castilla que no hiziese la mocha al gobernador, porque le paresse á él que este lo podrá defender por lo que ha hecho y no otro." Carta de Valverde al Emperador, MS.

as the scene of it. The governor repaired thither at the appointed time, well guarded, and, to propitiate the barbarian monarch, sent him a rich present by the hands of an African slave. The slave was met on the route by a party of the Inca's men, who, whether with or without their master's orders, cruelly murdered him, and bore off the spoil to their quarters. Pizarro resented this outrage by another yet more atrocious.

Among the Indian prisoners was one of the Inca's wives, a young and beautiful woman, to whom he was said to be fondly attached. The governor ordered her to be stripped naked, bound to a tree, and, in presence of the camp, to be scourged with rods and then shot to death with arrows. The wretched victim bore the execution of the sentence with surprising fortitude. She did not beg for mercy, where none was to be found. Not a complaint, scarcely a groan, escaped her under the infliction of these terrible torments. The iron Conquerors were amazed at this power of endurance in a delicate woman, and they expressed their admiration, while they condemned the cruelty of their commander—in their hearts.²⁶

²⁶ At least we may presume they did so, since they openly condemn him in their accounts of the transaction. I quote Pedro Pizarro, not disposed to criticise the conduct of his general too severely: "Se tomo una muger de mango ynga que le queria mucho y se guardo, creyendo que por ella saldria de paz. Esta muger mando matar al marques despues en Yucay, haziendola varear con varas y flechar con flechas por una burla que mango ynga le hizo que aqui contare, y entiendo yo que por esta crueldad y otra hermana del ynga que mando matar en Lima quando los yndios pusieron cerco sobrella que se llamava Açarpay, me parece á mí que nuestro señor le castigo en el fin que tuvo." Descub. y Conq., MS.

Yet constancy under the most excruciating tortures that human cruelty can inflict is the almost universal characteristic of the American Indian.

Pizarro now prepared, as the most effectual means of checking these disorders among the natives, to establish settlements in the heart of the disaffected country. These settlements, which received the dignified name of cities, might be regarded in the light of military colonies. The houses were usually built of stone, to which were added the various public offices, and sometimes a fortress. A municipal corporation was organized. Settlers were invited by the distribution of large tracts of land in the neighborhood, with a stipulated number of Indian vassals to each. The soldiers then gathered there, sometimes accompanied by their wives and families; for the women of Castile seem to have disdained the impediments of sex, in the ardor of conjugal attachment, or, it may be, of romantic adventure. A populous settlement rapidly grew up in the wilderness, affording protection to the surrounding territory, and furnishing a commercial dépôt for the country, and an armed force ready at all times to maintain public order.

Such a settlement was that now made at Guamanga, midway between Cuzco and Lima, which effectually answered its purpose by guarding the communications with the coast.²⁷ Another town

²⁷ Cieza de Leon notices the uncommon beauty and solidity of the buildings at Guamanga: "La qual han edificado las mayores y mejores casas que ay en todo el Peru, todas de piedra, ladrillo, y teja, con grandes torres: de manera que no falta aposentos. La plaça esta llana y bien grande." *Cronica*, cap. 87.

was founded in the mining-district of Charcas, under the appropriate name of the Villa de la Plata, the "City of Silver." And Pizarro, who journeyed by a circuitous route along the shores of the Southern sea towards Lima, established the city of Arequipa, since arisen to such commercial celebrity.

Once more in his favorite capital of Lima, the governor found abundant occupation in attending to its municipal concerns and in providing for the expansive growth of its population. Nor was he unmindful of the other rising settlements on the Pacific. He encouraged commerce with the remoter colonies north of Peru, and took measures for facilitating internal intercourse. He stimulated industry in all its branches, paying great attention to husbandry, and importing seeds of the different European grains, which he had the satisfaction, in a short time, to see thriving luxuriantly in a country where the variety of soil and climate afforded a home for almost every product.²⁸ Above all, he promoted the working of the mines, which already began to make such returns that the most common articles of life rose to exorbitant prices, while the precious metals themselves seemed the only thing of little value. But they soon changed hands, and found their way to the mother-country, where they rose to their true level as they mingled with the general currency of Europe. The Spaniards found

²⁸ "I con que ià començaba à haver en aquellas Tierras cosecha de Trigo, Cevada, i otras muchas cosas de Castilla." Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 6, lib. 10, cap. 9.

that they had at length reached the land of which they had been so long in search,—the land of gold and silver. Emigrants came in greater numbers to the country, and, spreading over its surface, formed in the increasing population the most effectual barrier against the rightful owners of the soil.²⁹

Pizarro, strengthened by the arrival of fresh adventurers, now turned his attention to the remoter quarters of the country. Pedro de Valdivia was sent on his memorable expedition to Chili; and to his own brother Gonzalo the governor assigned the territory of Quito, with instructions to explore the unknown country towards the east, where, as report said, grew the cinnamon. As this chief, who had hitherto acted but a subordinate part in the Conquest, is henceforth to take the most conspicuous, it may be well to give some account of him.

Little is known of his early life, for he sprang from the same obscure origin with Francisco, and seems to have been as little indebted as his elder brother to the fostering care of his parents. He entered early on the career of a soldier,—a career to which every man in that iron age, whether cavalier or vagabond, seems, if left to himself, to have most readily inclined. Here he soon distinguished himself by his skill in martial exercises, was an excellent horseman, and, when he came to the

²⁹ Carta de Carvajal al Emperador, MS.—Montesinos, *Annales*, MS., años 1539 et 1541.—Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 6, lib. 7, cap. 1.—Cieza de Leon, *Cronica*, cap. 76, et alibi.

New World, was esteemed the best lance in Peru.³⁰

In talent and in expansion of views he was inferior to his brothers. Neither did he discover the same cool and crafty policy; but he was equally courageous, and in the execution of his measures quite as unscrupulous. He had a handsome person, with open, engaging features, a free, soldier-like address, and a confiding temper, which endeared him to his followers. His spirit was high and adventurous, and, what was equally important, he could inspire others with the same spirit, and thus do much to insure the success of his enterprises. He was an excellent captain in guerilla warfare, an admirable leader in doubtful and difficult expeditions; but he had not the enlarged capacity for a great military chief, still less for a civil ruler. It was his misfortune to be called to fill both situations.

³⁰ The cavalier Pizarro y Orellana has given biographical notices of each of the brothers. It requires no witchcraft to detect that the blood of the Pizarros flowed in the veins of the writer to his fingers ends. Yet his facts are less suspicious than his inferences.

CHAPTER IV

GONZALO PIZARRO'S EXPEDITION—PASSAGE ACROSS
THE MOUNTAINS — DISCOVERS THE NAPO — IN-
CREDIBLE SUFFERINGS — ORELLANA SAILS DOWN
THE AMAZON — DESPAIR OF THE SPANIARDS —
THE SURVIVORS RETURN TO QUITO

1540-1542

GONZALO PIZARRO received the news of his appointment to the government of Quito with undisguised pleasure; not so much for the possession that it gave him of this ancient Indian province, as for the field that it opened for discovery towards the east,—the fabled land of Oriental spices, which had long captivated the imagination of the Conquerors. He repaired to his government without delay, and found no difficulty in awakening a kindred enthusiasm to his own in the bosoms of his followers. In a short time he mustered three hundred and fifty Spaniards and four thousand Indians. One hundred and fifty of his company were mounted, and all were equipped in the most thorough manner for the undertaking. He provided, moreover, against famine by a large stock of provisions, and an immense drove of swine which followed in the rear.¹

¹ Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 6, lib. 8, cap. 6, 7.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 3, cap. 2.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 1,

It was the beginning of 1540 when he set out on this celebrated expedition. The first part of the journey was attended with comparatively little difficulty, while the Spaniards were yet in the land of the Incas; for the distractions of Peru had not been felt in this distant province, where the simple people still lived as under the primitive sway of the Children of the Sun. But the scene changed as they entered the territory of Quixos, where the character of the inhabitants, as well as of the climate, seemed to be of another description. The country was traversed by lofty ranges of the Andes, and the adventurers were soon entangled in their deep and intricate passes. As they rose into the more elevated regions, the icy winds that swept down the sides of the Cordilleras benumbed their limbs, and many of the natives found a wintry grave in the wilderness. While crossing this formidable barrier, they experienced one of those tremendous earthquakes which, in these volcanic regions, so often shake the mountains to their base. In one place, the earth was rent asunder by the terrible throes of Nature, while streams of sulphurous vapor issued from the cavity, and a village with some hundreds of houses was precipitated into the frightful abyss! ²

2.—Gomara, *Hist. de las Ind.*, cap. 143.—Montesinos, *Annales*, año 1539.—Historians differ as to the number of Gonzalo's forces,—of his men, his horses, and his hogs. The last, according to Herrera, amounted to no less than 5000; a goodly supply of bacon for so small a troop, since the Indians, doubtless, lived on parched corn, *coca*, which usually formed their only support on the longest journeys.

³ Zarate states the number with precision at five hundred houses.
 "Sobrevino vn tan gran Terremoto, con temblor, i tempestad de
 Vol. II.—24

On descending the eastern slopes, the climate changed; and as they came on the lower level the fierce cold was succeeded by a suffocating heat, while tempests of thunder and lightning, rushing from out the gorges of the sierra, poured on their heads with scarcely any intermission day or night, as if the offended deities of the place were willing to take vengeance on the invaders of their mountain-solitudes. For more than six weeks the deluge continued unabated, and the forlorn wanderers, wet, and weary with incessant toil, were scarcely able to drag their limbs along the soil broken up and saturated with the moisture. After some months of toilsome travel, in which they had to cross many a morass and mountain-stream, they at length reached *Canelas*, the Land of Cinnamon.³ They saw the trees bearing the precious bark, spreading out into broad forests; yet, however valuable an article for commerce it might have proved in accessible situations, in these remote regions it was of little worth to them. But, from the wandering tribes of savages whom they had occasionally met in their path, they learned that at ten days' distance was a rich and fruitful land abounding with gold and inhabited by populous nations. Gonzalo Pizarro had already reached the limits originally proposed for the expedition. But this intelligence renewed his hopes, and he

Agua, i Relampagos, i Raios, i grandes Truenos, que abriendose la Tierra por muchas partes, se hundieron quinientas Casas." (Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 2.) There is nothing so satisfactory to the mind of the reader as precise numbers; and nothing so little deserving of his confidence.

³ *Canela* is the Spanish for cinnamon.

resolved to push the adventure farther. It would have been well for him and his followers had they been content to return on their footsteps.

Continuing their march, the country now spread out into broad savannas terminated by forests which, as they drew near, seemed to stretch on every side to the very verge of the horizon. Here they beheld trees of that stupendous growth seen only in the equinoctial regions. Some were so large that sixteen men could hardly encompass them with extended arms!⁴ * The wood was thickly matted with creepers and parasitical vines, which hung in gaudy-colored festoons from tree to tree, clothing them in a drapery beautiful to the eye, but forming an impenetrable net-work. At every step of their way they were obliged to hew open a passage with their axes, while their garments, rotting from the effects of the drenching rains to which they had been exposed, caught in every bush and bramble, and hung about them

⁴ This, allowing six feet for the spread of a man's arms, would be about ninety-six feet in circumference, or thirty-two feet in diameter,—larger, probably, than the largest tree known in Europe. Yet it falls short of that famous giant of the forest mentioned by M. de Humboldt as still flourishing in the intendency of Oaxaca, which, by the exact measurement of a traveller in 1839, was found to be a hundred and twelve feet in circumference at the height of four feet from the ground. This height may correspond with that of the measurement taken by the Spaniards. See a curious and learned article on Forest-trees in No. 124 of the North American Review.

* [The "Big Trees" (*Sequoia gigantea*) of California were not discovered until 1852. Some of the trees now standing in the Mariposa Grove surpass the size of those mentioned in the text. A prostrate trunk near the Calaveras Grove is eighteen feet in diameter three hundred feet from its base.—M.]

in shreds.⁵ Their provisions, spoiled by the weather, had long since failed, and the live stock which they had taken with them had either been consumed or made their escape in the woods and mountain-passes. They had set out with nearly a thousand dogs, many of them of the ferocious breed used in hunting down the unfortunate natives. These they now gladly killed, but their miserable carcasses furnished a lean banquet for the famishing travellers; and when these were gone they had only such herbs and dangerous roots as they could gather in the forest.⁶

At length the way-worn company came on a broad expanse of water formed by the Napo, one of the great tributaries of the Amazon, and which, though only a third- or fourth-rate river in America, would pass for one of the first magnitude in

⁵The dramatist Molina, in his play of "*Las Amazonas en las Indias*," has devoted some dozen columns of *redondillas* to an account of the sufferings of his countrymen in the expedition to the Amazon. The poet reckoned confidently on the patience of his audience. The following verses describe the miserable condition to which the Spaniards were reduced by the incessant rains:

"Sin que el Sol en este tiempo
Su cara ver nos permita,
Ni las nubes tabernas
Cesmen de echamos encima
Dilubios inagotables,
Que hasta el alma nos bautizan.
Cayeron los mas enfermos,
Porque las ropas podridas
Con el eterno agua va,
Nos dexò en las carnes vivas."

⁶Capitulacion con Orellana, MS.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. 143.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. 4, cap. 2.—Herrera, Hist. general, dec. 6, lib. 8, cap. 6, 7.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., Parte 2, lib. 3, cap. 2.—The last writer obtained his information, as he tells us, from several who were present in the expedition. The reader may be assured that it has lost nothing in coming through his hands

the Old World. The sight gladdened their hearts, as by winding along its banks they hoped to find a safer and more practicable route. After traversing its borders for a considerable distance, closely beset with thickets which it taxed their strength to the utmost to overcome, Gonzalo and his party came within hearing of a rushing noise that sounded like subterranean thunder. The river, lashed into fury, tumbled along over rapids with frightful velocity, and conducted them to the brink of a magnificent cataract, which, to their wondering fancies, rushed down in one vast volume of foam to the depth of twelve hundred feet! The appalling sounds which they had heard for the distance of six leagues were rendered yet more oppressive to the spirits by the gloomy stillness of the surrounding forests. The rude warriors were filled with sentiments of awe. Not a bark dimpled the waters. No living thing was to be seen but the wild tenants of the wilderness, the unwieldy boa, and the loathsome alligator basking on the borders of the stream. The trees towering in wide-spread magnificence towards the

"Al cabo de este largo camino hallaron que el río hacia vn salto de una peña de mas de dosientas braças de alto: que hacia tan gran ruydo, que lo oyeron mas de seys leguas antes que llegassen a el." (Garcilasso, *Com. Real.*, Parte 2, lib. 3, cap. 3.) I find nothing to confirm or to confute the account of this stupendous cataract in later travellers, not very numerous in these wild regions. The alleged height of the falls, twice that of the great cataract of the Tequendama in the Bogotá, as measured by Humboldt, usually esteemed the highest in America, is not so great as that of some of the cascades thrown over the precipices in Switzerland. Yet the estimates of the Spaniards, who, in the gloomy state of their feelings, were doubtless keenly alive to impressions of the sublime and the terrible, cannot safely be relied on.

heavens, the river rolling on in its rocky bed as it had rolled for ages, the solitude and silence of the scene, broken only by the hoarse fall of waters or the faint rustling of the woods,—all seemed to spread out around them in the same wild and primitive state as when they came from the hands of the Creator.

For some distance above and below the falls, the bed of the river contracted so that its width did not exceed twenty feet. Sorely pressed by hunger, the adventurers determined, at all hazards, to cross to the opposite side, in hopes of finding a country that might afford them sustenance. A frail bridge was constructed by throwing the huge trunks of trees across the chasm, where the cliffs, as if split asunder by some convulsion of nature, descended sheer down a perpendicular depth of several hundred feet. Over this airy causeway the men and horses succeeded in effecting their passage, with the loss of a single Spaniard, who, made giddy by heedlessly looking down, lost his footing and fell into the boiling surges below.

Yet they gained little by the exchange. The country wore the same unpromising aspect, and the river-banks were studded with gigantic trees or fringed with impenetrable thickets. The tribes of Indians whom they occasionally met in the pathless wilderness were fierce and unfriendly, and they were engaged in perpetual skirmishes with them. From these they learned that a fruitful country was to be found down the river at the distance of only a few days' journey, and the

Spaniards held on their weary way, still hoping and still deceived, as the promised land flitted before them, like the rainbow, receding as they advanced.

At length, spent with toil and suffering, Gonzalo resolved to construct a bark large enough to transport the weaker part of his company and his baggage. The forests furnished him with timber; the shoes of the horses which had died on the road or been slaughtered for food were converted into nails; gum distilled from the trees took the place of pitch; and the tattered garments of the soldiers supplied a substitute for oakum. It was a work of difficulty; but Gonzalo cheered his men in the task, and set an example by taking part in their labors. At the end of two months a brigantine was completed, rudely put together, but strong and of sufficient burden to carry half the company,—the first vessel constructed by Europeans that ever floated on these inland waters.

Gonzalo gave the command to Francisco de Orellana, a cavalier from Truxillo, on whose courage and devotion to himself he thought he could rely. The troops now moved forward, still following the descending course of the river, while the brigantine kept alongside; and when a bold promontory or more impracticable country intervened, it furnished timely aid by the transportation of the feebler soldiers. In this way they journeyed, for many a wearisome week, through the dreary wilderness on the borders of the Napo. Every scrap of provisions had been long since consumed. The last of their horses had been

devoured. To appease the gnawings of hunger, they were fain to eat the leather of their saddles and belts. The woods supplied them with scanty sustenance, and they greedily fed upon toads, serpents, and such other reptiles as they occasionally found.⁸

They were now told of a rich district, inhabited by a populous nation, where the Napo emptied into a still greater river that flowed towards the east. It was, as usual, at the distance of several days' journey; and Gonzalo Pizarro resolved to halt where he was and send Orellana down in his brigantine to the confluence of the waters to procure a stock of provisions, with which he might return and put them in condition to resume their march. That cavalier, accordingly, taking with him fifty of the adventurers, pushed off into the middle of the river, where the stream ran swiftly, and his bark, taken by the current, shot forward with the speed of an arrow and was soon out of sight.

Days and weeks passed away, yet the vessel did not return; and no speck was to be seen on the waters, as the Spaniards strained their eyes to the farthest point, where the line of light faded away in the dark shadows of the foliage on the borders. Detachments were sent out, and, though absent

⁸ "Yervas y rayses, y fruta silvestre, sapos, y culebras, y otras malas sanandijas, si las aulia por aquellas montañas que todo les havia buen estomago a los Españoles; que peor les yua con la falta de cosas tan viles." Garcilasso, *Com. Real.*, Parte 2, lib. 3, cap. 4.—*Capitulacion con Orellana*, MS.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 6, lib. 8, cap. 7.—Zarate, *Conq. del Peru*, lib. 4, cap. 3, 4.—Gomara, *Hist. de las Ind.*, cap. 143.

several days, came back without intelligence of their comrades. Unable longer to endure this suspense, or, indeed, to maintain themselves in their present quarters, Gonzalo and his famishing followers now determined to proceed towards the junction of the rivers. Two months elapsed before they accomplished this terrible journey,—those of them who did not perish on the way,—although the distance probably did not exceed two hundred leagues; and they at length reached the spot so long desired, where the Napo pours its tide into the Amazon, that mighty stream, which, fed by its thousand tributaries, rolls on towards the ocean, for many hundred miles, through the heart of the great continent,—the most majestic of American rivers.

But the Spaniards gathered no tidings of Orellana, while the country, though more populous than the region they had left, was as little inviting in its aspect, and was tenanted by a race yet more ferocious. They now abandoned the hope of recovering their comrades, who they supposed must have miserably perished by famine or by the hands of the natives. But their doubts were at length dispelled by the appearance of a white man wandering half naked in the woods, in whose famine-stricken countenance they recognized the features of one of their countrymen. It was Sanchez de Vargas, a cavalier of good descent, and much esteemed in the army. He had a dismal tale to tell.

Orellana, borne swiftly down the current of the Napo, had reached the point of its confluence with

the Amazon in less than three days,—accomplishing in this brief space of time what had cost Pizarro and his company two months. He had found the country altogether different from what had been represented; and, so far from supplies for his countrymen, he could barely obtain sustenance for himself. Nor was it possible for him to return as he had come, and make head against the current of the river; while the attempt to journey by land was an alternative scarcely less formidable. In this dilemma an idea flashed across his mind. It was to launch his bark at once on the bosom of the Amazon and descend its waters to its mouth. He would then visit the rich and populous nations that, as report said, lined its borders, sail out on the great ocean, cross to the neighboring isles, and return to Spain to claim the glory and the guerdon of discovery. The suggestion was eagerly taken up by his reckless companions, welcoming any course that would rescue them from the wretchedness of their present existence, and fired with the prospect of new and stirring adventure,—for the love of adventure was the last feeling to become extinct in the bosom of the Castilian cavalier. They heeded little their unfortunate comrades whom they were to abandon in the wilderness! *

* This statement of De Vargas was confirmed by Orellana, as appears from the language of the royal grant made to that cavalier on his return to Castile. The document is preserved entire in the Muñoz collection of MSS.: “Haviendo vos ido con ciertos compañeros un río abajo á buscar comida, con la corriente fuistes metidos por el dicho río mas de 900 leguas donde no pudistes dar la buelta é por esta necesidad é por la mucha noticia que tuvistes de la grandeza é riqueza de la tierra, posponiendo vuestro peligro, sin

This is not the place to record the circumstances of Orellana's extraordinary expedition. He succeeded in his enterprise. But it is marvellous that he should have escaped shipwreck in the perilous and unknown navigation of that river. Many times his vessel was nearly dashed to pieces on its rocks and in its furious rapids;¹⁰ and he was in still greater peril from the warlike tribes on its borders, who fell on his little troop whenever he attempted to land, and followed in his wake for miles in their canoes. He at length emerged from the great river; and, once upon the sea, Orellana made for the isle of Cubagua; thence passing over to Spain, he repaired to court, and told the circumstances of his voyage,—of the nations of Amazons whom he had found on the banks of the river, the El Dorado which report assured him existed in the neighborhood, and other marvels,—the exaggeration rather than the coinage of a credulous fancy. His audience listened with willing ears to the tales of the traveller; and in an age of wonders, when the mysteries of the East and the West were hourly coming to light, they might be excused for not discerning the true line between romance and reality.¹¹

interes ninguno por servir á S. M. os aventurastes á saber lo que havia en aquellas provincias, é así descubristes é hallastes grandes poblaciones." Capitulation con Orellana, MS.

¹⁰ Condamine, who, in 1743, went down the Amazon, has often occasion to notice the perils and perplexities in which he was involved in the navigation of this river, too difficult, as he says, to be undertaken without the guidance of a skilful pilot. See his *Relation abrégée d'un Voyage fait dans l'Intérieur de l'Amérique Méridionale* (Maastricht, 1778).

¹¹ It has not been easy to discern the exact line in later times, with all the lights of modern discovery. Condamine, after a careful

He found no difficulty in obtaining a commission to conquer and colonize the realms he had discovered. He soon saw himself at the head of five hundred followers, prepared to share the perils and the profits of his expedition. But neither he nor his country was destined to realize these profits. He died on his outward passage, and the lands washed by the Amazon fell within the territories of Portugal. The unfortunate navigator did not even enjoy the undivided honor of giving his name to the waters he had discovered. He enjoyed only the barren glory of the discovery, surely not balanced by the iniquitous circumstances which attended it.¹²

One of Orellana's party maintained a stout opposition to his proceedings, as repugnant both to humanity and honor. This was Sanchez de Vargas; and the cruel commander was revenged on him by abandoning him to his fate in the deso-

investigation, considers that there is good ground for believing in the existence of a community of armed women once living somewhere in the neighborhood of the Amazon, though they have now disappeared. It would be hard to disprove the fact, but still harder, considering the embarrassments in perpetuating such a community, to believe it. *Voyage dans l'Amérique Méridionale*, p. 99, et seq.

"His crime is in some measure balanced by the glory of having ventured upon a navigation of near two thousand leagues, through unknown nations, in a vessel hastily constructed, with green timber, and by very unskilful hands, without provisions, without a compass or a pilot." (Robertson, *America* (ed. London, 1796), vol. iii. p. 84.) The historian of America does not hold the moral balance with as unerring a hand as usual, in his judgment of Orellana's splendid enterprise. No success, however splendid, in the language of one not too severe a moralist,

"Can blazon evil deeds or consecrate a crime."

late region where he was now found by his countrymen.¹³

The Spaniards listened with horror to the recital of Vargas, and their blood almost froze in their veins as they saw themselves thus deserted in the heart of this remote wilderness and deprived of their only means of escape from it. They made an effort to prosecute their journey along the banks, but, after some toilsome days, strength and spirits failed, and they gave up in despair!

Then it was that the qualities of Gonzalo Pizarro, as a fit leader in the hour of despondency and danger, shone out conspicuous. To advance farther was hopeless. To stay where they were, without food or raiment, without defence from the fierce animals of the forest and the fiercer natives, was impossible. One only course remained: it was to return to Quito. But this brought with it the recollection of the past, of

¹³ An expedition more remarkable than that of Orellana was performed by a delicate female, Madame Godin, who in 1769 attempted to descend the Amazon in an open boat to its mouth. She was attended by seven persons, two of them her brothers, and two her female domestics. The boat was wrecked, and Madame Godin, narrowly escaping with her life, endeavored with her party to accomplish the remainder of her journey on foot. She saw them perish, one after another, of hunger and disease, till she was left alone in the howling wilderness. Still, like Milton's lady in Comus, she was permitted to come safely out of all these perils, and, after unparalleled sufferings, falling in with some friendly Indians, she was conducted by them to a French settlement. Though a young woman, it will not be surprising that the hardships and terrors she endured turned her hair perfectly white. The details of the extraordinary story are given in a letter to M. de la Condamine by her husband, who tells them in an earnest, unaffected way that engages our confidence. *Voyage dans l'Amérique Méridionale*, p. 339, et seq.

sufferings which they could too well estimate,—hardly to be endured even in imagination. They were now at least four hundred leagues from Quito, and more than a year had elapsed since they had set out on their painful pilgrimage. How could they encounter these perils again!¹⁴

Yet there was no alternative. Gonzalo endeavored to reassure his followers by dwelling on the invincible constancy they had hitherto displayed, adjuring them to show themselves still worthy of the name of Castilians. He reminded them of the glory they would forever acquire by their heroic achievement, when they should reach their own country. He would lead them back, he said, by another route, and it could not be but that they should meet somewhere with those fruitful regions of which they had so often heard. It was something, at least, that every step would take them nearer home; and as, at all events, it was clearly the only course now left, they should prepare to meet it like men. The spirit would sustain the body; and difficulties encountered in the right spirit were half vanquished already!

The soldiers listened eagerly to his words of promise and encouragement. The confidence of their leader gave life to the desponding. They

¹⁴ Garcilasso, *Com. Real.*, Parte 2, lib. 3, cap. 5.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 6, lib. 8, cap. 8.—Zarate, *Conq. del Peru*, lib. 4, cap. 5.—Gomara, *Hist. de las Ind.*, cap. 143.—One must not expect from these wanderers in the wilderness any exact computation of time or distance, destitute as they were of the means of making a correct observation of either.

felt the force of his reasoning, and, as they lent a willing ear to his assurances, the pride of the old Castilian honor revived in their bosoms, and every one caught somewhat of the generous enthusiasm of their commander. He was, in truth, entitled to their devotion. From the first hour of the expedition he had freely borne his part in its privations. Far from claiming the advantage of his position, he had taken his lot with the poorest soldier, ministering to the wants of the sick, cheering up the spirits of the desponding, sharing his stinted allowance with his famished followers, bearing his full part in the toil and burden of the march, ever showing himself their faithful comrade, no less than their captain. He found the benefit of this conduct in a trying hour like the present.

I will spare the reader the recapitulation of the sufferings endured by the Spaniards on their retrograde march to Quito. They took a more northerly route than that by which they had approached the Amazon; and, if it was attended with fewer difficulties, they experienced yet greater distresses from their greater inability to overcome them. Their only nourishment was such scanty fare as they could pick up in the forest, or happily meet with in some forsaken Indian settlement, or wring by violence from the natives. Some sickened and sank down by the way, for there was none to help them. Intense misery had made them selfish; and many a poor wretch was abandoned to his fate, to die alone in the wilderness, or, more probably, to be

devoured, while living, by the wild animals which roamed over it.

At length, in June, 1542, after somewhat more than a year consumed in their homeward march, the wayworn company came on the elevated plains in the neighborhood of Quito. But how different their aspect from that which they had exhibited on issuing from the gates of the same capital, two years and a half before, with high romantic hope and in all the pride of military array! Their horses gone, their arms broken and rusted, the skins of wild animals instead of clothes hanging loosely about their limbs, their long and matted locks streaming wildly down their shoulders, their faces burned and blackened by the tropical sun, their bodies wasted by famine and sorely disfigured by scars,—it seemed as if the charnel-house had given up its dead, as, with uncertain step, they glided slowly onwards, like a troop of dismal spectres! More than half of the four thousand Indians who had accompanied the expedition had perished, and of the Spaniards only eighty, and many of these irretrievably broken in constitution, returned to Quito.¹⁵

The few Christian inhabitants of the place, with

¹⁵ Pedro Pizarro, *Descub. y Conq.*, MS.—Zarate, *Conq. del Peru*, lib. 4, cap. 5.—Gomara, *Hist. de las Ind.*, cap. 143.—Garcilasso, *Com. Real.*, Parte 2, lib. 3, cap. 15.—Herrera, *Hist. general*, dec. 7, lib. 3, cap. 14.—The last historian, in dismissing his account of the expedition, passes a panegyric on the courage and constancy of his countrymen, which we must admit to be well deserved: "Finalmente, Gonzalo Pizarro entró en el Quito, triunfando del valor, i sufrimiento, i de la constancia, recto é immutable vigor del animo, pues Hombres Humanos no se hallan haver tanto sufrido, ni padecido tantas desventuras." *Ibid.*, ubi supra.

their wives and children, came out to welcome their countrymen. They ministered to them all the relief and refreshment in their power; and, as they listened to the sad recital of their sufferings, they mingled their tears with those of the wanderers. The whole company then entered the capital, where their first act—to their credit be it mentioned—was to go in a body to the church and offer up thanksgivings to the Almighty for their miraculous preservation through their long and perilous pilgrimage.¹⁶ Such was the end of the expedition to the Amazon,—an expedition which, for its dangers and hardships, the length of their duration, and the constancy with which they were endured, stands perhaps unmatched in the annals of American discovery.

¹⁶ Zarate, *Conq. del Peru*, lib. 4, cap. 5.





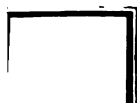
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